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Volume IV

American Church History

A HISTORY
OF THE
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

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Valuable material is preserved at Amsterdam, Holland; at Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, and Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, and at St. Matthew's German Church (Broome and Elizabeth Streets), New York. The material at Amsterdam has recently been carefully examined by Dr. Nicum; and the documents at New York, Gloria Dei, Wilmington, and Gettysburg by Professor Gräbner. The revised edition of the "Hallesche Nachrichten" has embodied, so far as published, the results of the thorough study by Dr. Mann of the large mass of MSS. that gradually accumulated under his care at Mount Airy. Much is also used in his "Life and Times of Muhlenberg."

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THE LUTHERANS.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT IS LUTHERANISM?

If the principle be correct that the biography of a man cannot be properly written without tracing his ancestry and examining the influences that have contributed, long before his birth, to the formation of his character, it is no less true that the past history and the present condition of the various Christian denominations of America cannot be rightly understood unless we recur to their sources in Europe and analyze the individual factors that have entered into their life before they reached this country. As no communion can be absolutely sundered from its past history, the historical standpoint must always be the basis of all enduring practical work. We cannot deal successfully with men unless we know who they are, and whence they came, and what they mean. The historical antecedents and relations and development must be appreciated and recognized before any results can be expected from the kindly feeling and earnest efforts of even the warmest advocates of Christian union. A candid and discriminating view of its precise historical situation on the part of those upon whom rests the responsibility for leadership is an indispensable prerequisite to all progress within a church.

Even where there are the best of reasons for abandoning, in some directions, the past development, it must be done intelligently, or far more may be lost than is gained. The Lutheran Church in America cannot be understood, therefore, without an acquaintance with the Lutheran Church in the centers from which it has originated. The history of the Lutheran Church in America actually begins with the Reformation.

Lutheranism is a specific form of Christian life. The propriety of the name as a designation of that form of life is not for us to determine. Apart from our willingness or unwillingness to assume it, it has become a fixed term for a definite and well-known object. As religion is not mere intellectualism, or mere sentiment, or mere activity, so Lutheranism, as a form of the only true religion, Christianity, is far more than a system of doctrines, or a mode of worship, or a form of church organization. The spirit of a church is always greater and deeper than its expression; its faith is always greater than its confession. Lutheranism is a mode of viewing and receiving and living the truths of Christianity; or rather of viewing and receiving and living in mystical union with Him who is the beginning and end of all these truths. The peculiarities which mark its relation to Christ determine peculiarities with respect to other objects. The principles underlying the doctrinal position reappear in the spheres of ethics and liturgics, of homiletics and church government. Even the faith of a great sculptor or a great musical composer will express itself in a different way according to the peculiarities of the confession by which his religious life has been nourished and trained. Everything that enters into the religious life, or that proceeds from it, is molded and colored by the specific form which that life assumes.

When it is claimed that Lutheranism is a specific form

of Christian life, it is implied that there are other specific forms in which the same Christian life exists, and other modes of viewing and receiving and living the common faith of the gospel. It is beyond the scope of this book to inquire whether there may not be a Providential guidance controlling confessional divergences, in order to produce prominent representatives and outspoken confessors of certain sides or phases of truth that might otherwise have escaped sufficient attention; or to consider what form most fully complies with the one rule of faith which all acknowledge. The Lutheran Church, however, is certainly what it is because it has rarely lacked the courage to frankly say that it heartily believes that it has received the form of Christian life which it possesses from the quickening power of the Holy Spirit and the unerring Word of God.

Nor is it less true that Lutheranism itself has varieties. Distinctly marked as is its individuality, this does not give to all its adherents precisely the same caste. As experience, environment, education, temperament, and personal gifts differ, the one form of Christian life manifests itself in various ways. Care must be taken not to confound national peculiarities with those of the religious or confessional life. So closely associated is Lutheranism with Germany, its birthplace and the home of its greatest scholars and preachers and hymn-writers and champions, that peculiarities of German Lutheranism are often mistaken for those of Lutheranism itself. This is not only because German influences have powerfully affected Lutheranism, but chiefly because Lutheranism has so largely made Germany what it is. It has contributed as much to the formation of the national character as it has to the language. But the national characteristics must be eliminated from Lutheranism if the latter have any claim to stand for that pure gos-

pel which is for all nations and all tongues. To regard the two as inseparable is to deny the evangelical character of Lutheranism. Even in Luther himself we must discriminate between that which belongs to him, as the greatest of all Germans, and that which is properly the expression of his faith.

From the conception of Lutheranism we must eliminate also the factors of temporal limitation. Each century has its own distinguishing features that impress themselves upon all its forms of life. The Lutheranism of the sixteenth century is to be revered as that of its purest period. To succeeding ages of the Lutheran faith it bears the same relation that the Nicene period has to adherents of the Nicene faith. But it is doing Lutheranism a wrong to maintain that its development was completed with its first beginnings, and that, with its growth arrested and its life confined within the molds of a single generation, we must now be content to do nothing but reproduce the definitions of that age, and to meet the issues of the present in all respects as issues were then met. The Christian life has its peculiar mission in every age; and so Lutheranism, true to the spirit of its origin, without abating aught of its loyalty to the past, is candid enough to answer the questions agitated in each age in the language of that age. In other words, without wavering in consistency with its confession, if it be a true expression of Christian life, it possesses adaptability to every circumstance of human experience.

Lutheranism stands for that effort which was made in the sixteenth century to maintain and continue the true historical development of the Christian life, as opposed to a false and unhistorical development with which it had been confused and intermingled in the church. It attempted no innovations. It appealed at every step to a tradition whose purity was to be decided by its fidelity to the spirit

and letter of God's Word. It encouraged no revolutionary movements. It was in no haste to reach an ideal end. Its sole aim was to be faithful to the truth and to the hour. Conservative, sober, discriminating, it tenaciously adhered to every bequest of the past which was either derived from God's Word or which God's Word committed to the liberty of the church. It refused to break with the settled order except where that order opposed itself to the gospel. It was unable to accept or identify itself with the more radical movement that prevailed in what is known as the Reformed family of churches, because, in its opinion, their representatives were unwarranted in their opposition to features in the old church that were not condemned in God's Word, and which, therefore, instead of being rejected, were to be retained. It offered the widest and most liberal basis for Christian union by restricting the controversy with Rome solely to those points in which Rome's departure from the gospel was manifest. It sought to separate the essential from the non-essential, and, in the sphere of love, to endure all things, while, in the sphere of faith, it could concede nothing, commending what is good no less because found in an adversary, and condemning what is wrong no less because found in a friend.

Lutheranism, as doctrine, starts with the consciousness of the personal intercourse between the child of God and his reconciled Father. It is not a system, drawn by logical deduction from exegetical researches into the Holy Scriptures. It is the development of the spiritual life in this direction, as the consciousness of the relation with God is analyzed by the tests of Holy Scripture, and, under the guidance of Holy Scripture, is brought into contact with other divine realities, concerning which it must make confession. All its doctrines are its conceptions from various sides of the one great doctrine of justification by faith

alone. The vigor of its contests on other articles is explicable from the fact that, whatever may be the point of attack, it regards it as aimed at the citadel of its faith. Lutheranism accepts Augustinianism on original sin; for as self is depreciated Christ is exalted, and as sin is excused or explained away faith in Christ is rendered needless. Christ is really the center of the system; for justification by faith alone means nothing more than justification by Christ alone, through faith which clings to Christ as its Saviour. If there are profound mysteries in its treatment of Christology, it is because of the mystery of all mysteries in the person of its Lord, whom it worships as true God and true man, from henceforth and forever one and inseparable, and whose humanity shares in the infinite glory and majesty of his divinity. It places no limitations as to the extent of the atonement, teaching that it was made not only for all men, but also for all sins; the only limitation being that of the enjoyment of the benefits of the atonement, when some for whom Christ died perish through their rejection of proffered grace. It maintains that the Holy Spirit actually works through the means of grace, as true organs and instruments whereby the benefits of redemption are offered and, if not repelled, faith is bestowed. Faith not being a work of man, but of God, and being a state, a temper, a disposition, an attitude of heart and mind toward God, as well as a conscious act, Lutheranism has never found it difficult to regard such faith as bestowed already in infancy through the Word of God applied in Holy Baptism. In the Holy Supper it has rigidly held to the literal interpretation of the words of institution, finding in the doctrine of the real presence the surest pledge of all that is comprehended in redemption, and in the distribution of the heavenly object to all communicants the seal of the individualization of the general promise of the gos-

pel, made in the divinely appointed words which accompany the distribution and declare that, so far as God's will and purpose are concerned, the benefits of Christ's death belong to every one partaking of the consecrated elements, and that which they convey. Lutheranism knows of no priesthood but that of the High-Priesthood of Christ, who, alone and once for all, made a propitiatory sacrifice for us on the altar of the cross, and the spiritual priesthood of all believers to offer the daily eucharistic sacrifices of prayer, praise, and thanksgiving. So intimate is the union between the Saviour and the soul whom he has saved, that there is not room between them for any order of men to conciliate that favor, of which the redeemed soul already enjoys the most indubitable proofs. Lutheranism, however, places great stress upon the church as a divine institution to administer the Word and sacraments, and the ministry as the church's instrumentality through which she performs this divinely appointed duty. Utterly repudiating the conception of the ministry as a priesthood, Lutheranism, however, insists that its duties do not pertain to all believers, but only to those properly called and set apart to this work by the church's order. Scrupulous in insisting that this order be observed, Lutheranism, at the same time, finds the efficacy of the ministry not in the regularity of the call, but in the pure Word which they bear, which, whether or not their call be regular, is the unfailing organ of the gracious operation of God's Spirit. Lutheranism bows with implicit confidence to the Holy Scriptures as its sole rule of faith and practice; and, however inexplicable or contradictory its statements may seem to human reason, the very fact that they are there contained is to it an end of all controversy. It regards the Scriptures an infallible and an inerrant guide for all the purposes for which God has given us a revelation, and, in their faithful use, humbly expects, by the en-

lightening influences of the Holy Spirit, to be led into all truth.

Holding that whatever the church has learned from Holy Scripture she is bound to publicly confess, the Lutheran Church, as circumstances demanded, has embodied these doctrines in her various confessions. While it cannot be denied that false zeal in maintaining what have been regarded Lutheran principles has combined with the opposite extreme in regarding and representing the church's confessions as absolute law, this itself is entirely foreign to the spirit of Lutheranism, which serves God with joyous freedom. Bound in conscience by no confession of faith, it is bound to confess only what it learns from God's Word, and thus is bound to declare unmistakably its dissent from any confession of faith which fails in full fidelity to God's Word. The moment the confession becomes a law it ceases to become a confession; the moment that a document becomes a confession it ceases to be a law. These historical documents are confessions only when, in their historical sense, they correctly express the judgment of individuals or churches concerning doctrines of God's Word. The confession stands or falls according to its degree of conformity with Holy Scripture. While it is undoubtedly true that the confession is often greater and better than the faith, it is also true that the faith is sometimes greater and better than its confession, and that the confession fails to adequately express the form of Christian life for which it stands. All these principles will enter more or less intimately into the estimate which will be placed upon the various historical factors to be presented in this survey. Lutheranism is a clear, distinct, definite form of Christian life, whose relations to other forms of Christian life are traced in the theological science of comparative symbolics. It is neither the formal subscription to minute codes of

definitions and compliance with long-established precedents; nor is it, on the other hand, a vague and indefinite spirit which assumes new shapes according to the fashion of the hour, and changes its confession by the decisions of majorities.

The form of the Christian life which the Lutheran Church cherishes is preëminently irenic. The bitter controversies that have raged within her are only incidents in her history that are all the more marked as they are exceptions to the general course of her development. But her very love for peace has rendered her cautious about any false peace. She is candid, honest, outspoken; she has always felt that she dare not allow the clearness of her testimony to be in any way clouded or compromised. She has ever realized her divine commission to testify to all things concerning which her Lord has given commandment, and she will not, even for the sake of the peace she so much loves, be silent. The Lutheran Church, however, is not responsible for the acrimony and violence that have often been displayed by those who claim to be her partisans. Many a faithful teacher has diminished his influence by allowing a spirit that is not of Christ or the gospel to be intermingled with his clear teaching and perfectly just censures. The Lutheran Church must not be held responsible, any more than Christianity itself, for the incidental ardor and violence of writers, forming a strange contrast to the prevalent preaching from her pulpits, and the humble, quiet, sincere lives of hundreds of thousands of her people, who, in all meekness, are slow to give their confidence to those whom they do not know, but who, at the same time, cordially love and submissively obey and considerately care for all that has once established itself as worthy of esteem. The battlefields of a nation, while a very prominent, are, after all, only a very small part of its history.

We must learn to know a church not simply by the study of its controversies and of the lives of its disputants, but especially in the Christian life as it has developed among the people in the administration of the means of grace. It is unhistorical to reach conclusions by the study of the polemical literature, while neglecting the hymns and prayers, the liturgies, the devotional works, the sermons, and the biographies of godly men and women of the same period. It is unfair to consider the faith of a communion simply as it is engaged in a struggle with those who misstate and confuse it, and not to consider the same faith as in every-day life it bears the cross and meets those trials from which no Christian is exempt, or as it leads to earnest efforts in the various spheres of benevolent work.

Faith expresses itself, on one side, as doctrine; on another, as worship; on another, as patience; on another, as work. The same conservative position that is noted in the doctrine of the Lutheran Church characterizes it in all other spheres. It accepts all that has gone before in the church's history, casting out only that which is contrary to Holy Scripture. It is constantly seeking development, but only upon the basis of what has preceded; for it knows too well that this is the law of all true progress. Clearly recognizing the hand of Providence in all the events of human history, and assured of an especial guidance of the Holy Spirit in the life of the church, it calmly submits to whatever outward lot God appoints it, until the clear call come for an advance. In external matters, the great variety that has attended it is due, in large measure, to the varying degree of interference with the church's true development, by either the Roman hierarchy or the state, in the various countries of its original home. To the outward order it ever continued to cling, until that order was turned against the gospel.

In public worship it carefully guards the rights of the spiritual priesthood of believers, of whom, in all prayers, the minister speaks only as the representative, leading the devotions of the congregation. The guardianship of this right implies not only the rejection of all the hierarchical assumptions of an order who pray for the people in an unknown tongue, but also an avoidance of all that is purely subjective and individual in public prayer, in order that it may be the "common prayer" of the entire body of worshipers, expressing, in language in which all can join, the common wants of the spiritual priesthood who participate. The center of all its worship is the Word of God. This Word is preached, not only in the sermon, but in the entire arrangement of the service, where the Word of God, in various forms, and with a due proportion of law and gospel, is successively proclaimed. It centers around the exhibition of all that Christ has done for, and is and will be to, the believer. Hence the carefully chosen system of lessons, embodied in the church year, which, in the Lutheran Church, even more exclusively than in the other historical communions that follow it, forms the main basis of the preaching, but which her great preachers know how to apply with great freedom and surprising variety to the constantly changing circumstances of time and place. The public service culminates in the Lord's Supper, with its most direct personal application of the general promise of the gospel under the seals of the very Body and Blood that have paid the price of redemption—the preaching of the Word in its most impressive form. Believing that for a profitable partaking of the Holy Supper due preparation is needed, previous announcement is made, in order that, by self-examination and special prayer, the heart be made ready to receive the more ardently the gospel assurance; and a special exercise is appointed—in the earlier periods

of the Lutheran Church, and to a less extent even to the present, a private confession, and more frequently, in later times, a public confession or preparatory service—which all who purpose to commune are expected to attend, and to make answer therein to solemn questions concerning their repentance and faith. Although regarding baptism as the only ordinance whereby persons enter the church, admission to the Lord's Supper is preceded by the rite of confirmation, which, after having fallen into disuse for many years, was reintroduced in the seventeenth century, and has now become universal, as the church's declaration of the fitness of the persons confirmed for admission to the Holy Supper. It is preceded by careful instruction by the pastor in the catechism, extending over one year or more, supplementing what should be given in the family and the school.

Upon the church school the Lutheran Church has ever laid the greatest importance. In its various homes in Europe it has always had the especial supervision of all elementary instruction, which it has conducted upon the principle that the religious training is the center of all education. The catechism, Bible history, the committing to memory of copious Scripture texts and of the best hymns of the church, and church music, are prominent features of the every-day instruction. It is a system which produces intelligent and earnest Christian laymen, and devout and capable Christian wives and mothers, who are not readily led astray, even if rationalism should dominate in the theological training in the universities, where the conditions of America are reversed, and the ecclesiastical influence disappears as the religious training passes from its elementary to its scientific form.

The organization of the church has been determined by the same controlling spirit of conservatism that has pre-

vailed in other spheres. Where the bishops espoused the Lutheran faith and effected reforms according to it, as seen especially in Sweden, there was no change in the form of organization. Where they opposed it, and refused ordination to those faithful to what the Lutheran Church teaches to be the gospel, the congregations had to resort to their own inherent authority to provide for the pure administration of the Word, and ordain men independently of the bishops. This was not done in haste or until repeated protests had proved fruitless. Even when done, it was with the hope that the change was only a temporary expedient, fully justified by the necessities, but that, with the recognition of their reasonable claims, the old order of the church would be reformed and restored. Until then, in most countries, the powers of the bishops devolved upon the rulers, not for the purpose of transferring spiritual rights to the temporal authorities, but, with a clear separation of the two functions, transferring to them, as prominent members of the church, the general superintendence of its interests and provision for its administration, until either the regular bishops would yield to the demands of the reformers, or the time for a thorough reorganization would come. Under the direction of such rulers, a number of whom proved themselves to be faithful and truly spiritually minded men, there was a readjustment of the church's work and administration in the various Lutheran countries, the Wittenberg Faculty (Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Bugenhagen, etc.) and several of their intimate associates (Brentz, Sarcerius, etc.) being especially active in composing, revising, and editing church constitutions, and in answering the many appeals for advice that were addressed them.

This form of church government, known as the episcopal, giving to the ruler the administration, but commit-

ting the decision of all doctrinal questions to the ministry, was the prevalent one in Germany until the close of the seventeenth century. It was succeeded by the territorial system, which, emphasizing the invisibility of the true church, intrusted the determination of even questions affecting the doctrine into the hands of the ruler, since the external church was regarded only as a human society, which, like other human societies, should be maintained and defended by the civil government. The collegial system followed, asserting the sovereignty of the people, and claiming the absolute independence of every congregation in the determination of all its affairs. Under all these systems, the practical determination of all questions was in the hands of a consistorium appointed by the ruler, consisting of theologians and jurists, and acting through superintendents, who, either themselves or through appointed visitors, closely inspected the congregations, pastors, candidates, schools, and institutions of mercy. In some countries, where the Lutheran has come into close contact with the Reformed Church, it has received considerable modification of its organization. The synodical form of organization, universally prevalent in the Lutheran Church of America, is, in large measure, derived from the Reformed Church, the Lutheran synodical organizations of the Reformation period, of which that in Pomerania may be regarded the type, being of an entirely different character, as meetings for receiving instructions from the superintendents, rather than for the decision of church questions. We believe that it can be very safely affirmed that nowhere, as in this country, does the Lutheran Church have the opportunity to shape its church polity in accordance with its principles. The temporary scheme in Germany of regarding the rulers as bishops may have been necessary under the circumstances; but it certainly caused great embarrass-

ments, and often led to a practical denial of Lutheran principles, and even to their flagrant violation.

The prevalent character of the Christian life nourished by the Lutheran faith is humble, devout, unobtrusive, joyous, buoyant. The clear apprehension of the doctrine of justification, which the Lutheran Church makes the most prominent part of her teaching, when received in its fullness imparts the joyful consciousness of the forgiveness of all sins and of the entire favor and presence of God. The anxiety and gloom that characterize some other forms of Christianity, and oppress many true Christians who have only imperfectly received the comfort of the gospel, are entirely foreign to the spirit of Lutheranism. Sadness and sorrow, the Lutheran Church believes, belong to the realm of sin and death, not of life and salvation and holiness. Asceticism, if not pure legalism, is regarded as, at best, only a diseased form of Christianity that denies to God the full credit for blessings which he has given man to enjoy. All good things of this life that come according to God's calling and in his order are gratefully received and cheerfully used, in order that God may be glorified in the Christian's enjoyment of temporal as well as of spiritual things. This in no way diminishes the clearness of its testimony against the abuse of earthly objects and the absorption of the heart in worldliness. In all its use of worldly things, it is never forgetful of Him whence they come, and at whose command they can be just as readily renounced as they were previously received. These features are especially seen in the family, where there is the combination of strict discipline with the most unreserved confidence between parents and children, and of a deep religious life with a cheerfulness that is always diffusing its brightness. Sunday, instead of being observed by penitential exercises, is the most joyful day of the week. The religious services

throughout reflect this joyful character. Next to the public service of God, the day is sacred to the cultivation of the life of the Christian family. Such statements necessarily require discrimination. They are written with full knowledge of the fact that liberty sometimes runs into license, that the claims of God are ignored, and that a joy which does not come from the Holy Spirit sometimes boasts of Luther's name and of the precedent of Luther's example. But for this perversion the Lutheran Church cannot be held culpable.

If we cannot say that the Lutheran Church has faithfully entered every door of usefulness that has opened to her, a review of her history does not show that she has been inactive. It is sometimes charged against her that while numerically so strong, it is strange that she allowed the Reformed family of churches to so far outstrip her in the work of foreign missions. But it does not require a very close consideration of the facts before the reasons become obvious. The Reformation itself was a missionary movement, and taxed to the utmost her energies. The great question of that hour was the reorganization of the church, in such a way that her testimony to Christ might be most clearly heard, and those agonizing for salvation according to a false presentation of the way of life, find peace for their souls. The worship of the church required purification, and that a large literature of liturgies and hymn-books and catechisms, and even translations of the Bible, be provided. The vastness of the work accomplished by that generation is truly astonishing. It had not passed away before the storm of the Smalcald War broke upon the center of Lutheranism and desolated it, while the Reformed churches were spared for a time. The controversies largely occasioned by her weakened external circumstances drained for years her energies and confused

her people. Then came the desolations of the Thirty Years' War. But these are only partial explanations. The same external call did not come to the Lutheran as to the Reformed churches. The Reformed churches were led into the work of foreign missions as nations which had the Reformed faith made conquests in heathen countries. Where, to a far less extent, Lutheran nations had foreign colonies or possessions, the Lutheran Church also entered the field. The labors of Westen among the Lapps, of Egede among the Greenlanders, and of Ziegenbalg and his associates from Halle during the Danish sway in India, as well as of Campanius among the Delaware Indians, are among the earliest and the most interesting chapters in the history of Protestant foreign missions. In later years, as opportunity is given she has not hesitated to respond promptly to the calls made, as her various missions in India, Africa, and Oceanica testify. The development of the Lutheran Church in America is a record of most remarkable home mission work, which, with an insignificant amount of resources, has, in a very quiet and unobtrusive way, collected impoverished immigrants into a vast community, brought them into powerful church organizations, built for them substantial and, in many places, elegant churches, provided for them well-equipped institutions of learning, and founded numerous hospitals, orphanages, deaconesses' institutes, and other works of mercy. It is the object of this book to enter into the details of this history.

PERIOD I.

THE SOURCES AND ORIGINATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA.

A.D. 1624–1742.

CHAPTER I.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN HOLLAND.

THE Lutheran Church was not transplanted to America as a homogeneous and thoroughly organized body. The task before most other religious communities which have found a home here has been far less difficult. With the Lutheran Church, uniformity of worship and of government has always been a secondary consideration, all stress having been placed upon unity in the faith. But in organizing those who hold the same faith into a body for mutual protection and edification, the uniformity of worship and government, however subordinate, is nevertheless a very important factor. The regulations of the Roman Catholic, the Protestant Episcopal, and the Presbyterian churches were to a great extent fixed at their entrance into America. Other church organizations, having a somewhat freer development than the communions just named, were nevertheless unembarrassed by the conflicting European orders to which their founders were accustomed. The Lutheran Church of America comes, however, from various nationalities. Even within the same nationality, the multiplicity of small states into which Germany was divided gave to each its own separate church constitution and peculiar church regulations. The work of developing a Lutheran Church, one in faith and thoroughly united in government as well as in doctrine, has been gradually progressing without any special effort on the part of men, but under the constraint of the necessities of the Christian life, i.e., by

the presence of the Holy Spirit in and with the church. To understand, therefore, the Lutheran Church in America and its entire development, we must, with considerable care and at some length, examine the history and church constitution of the various elements which form this composite body.

The pioneers of Lutheranism in America came from Holland. The Lutheran Church of Holland when considered in itself has never been of any great importance or influence. Even to the present day, it is without any work professing to give its history. It has no church paper or theological review, a small mission paper representing its entire contribution to periodical literature. For over two hundred and fifty years it had no theological seminary, and was satisfied with educating generations of pastors in Germany, and importing ministers from that country. The element which it contributed toward Lutheranism in America was small in numbers, and made no very great progress. Their descendants have formed the basis only of a few congregations in New York and New Jersey, and while some of their prominent names survive among our laity, there is scarcely one in our ministry. Nevertheless, they have left their permanent impress upon the entire form of the congregational and synodical organization of the greater part of the present church. Not only were the German Lutheran churches of London, with which Muhlenberg stood in close connection, greatly influenced by their frequent communications with Amsterdam, but we know how Muhlenberg's temporary pastorate of the Dutch Church in New York City was followed by results in the more complete organization of congregations that can be traced in a large portion of the present constitutions. It is necessary, therefore, to devote some attention to the history, characteristics, and organization of Dutch Lutheranism.

Luther's reformatory movements had found immediate sympathy in the Netherlands. Philip, Bishop of Utrecht, had prepared the way by his reproofs of the clergy, his denunciations of the monks, and the urgency with which he demanded a more faithful study of the Holy Scriptures. Erasmus, of Rotterdam, was no less important in his own native land than in England. Gansfort, Vesalius, and Groete were also forerunners. As in England, Robert Barnes, the prior of the Augustinian monks, so in Holland, Jacob Spreng or Sprenger, commonly known as Probst, of the same Augustinian order, who had been a pupil of Luther at Wittenberg, and had been admitted to Luther's most intimate friendship, which was subsequently strengthened by his marriage to a near relative of Luther, was especially prominent as an advocate of Luther's teachings. Compelled, by a singular parallel to the experience of his brother Augustinian in England, to make a public recantation, after repenting of his temporary vacillation and fleeing from Holland he lived and labored long in the cause of the Lutheran Reformation in Bremen. Henry Moller von Zütphen was another prior of the Augustinians, who studied at Wittenberg, diffused the doctrines he there learned, first at Dort and afterward at Antwerp, and ultimately attested his devotion by martyrdom, December 11, 1524. It is only necessary to read the letters of Erasmus, of 1518 and 1519, to learn how the truth was spreading in the Netherlands. The attack of the doctors of Louvain, November 7, 1519, is accompanied by the apology that the number of Luther's advocates must explain its necessity. Of these Louvain doctors it is said that they had appealed to Margaret, the sister of Charles V., with the complaint that, by his writings, Luther was subverting all Christianity. "And who is Luther?" she naïvely asked. "An unlearned man." "Well, then," she replied, "I think there are enough of

you to take care of him, since one unlearned man cannot, before the world, overcome the many learned who are arrayed against him." In 1521 the series of persecutions began that were destined to furnish from the Netherlands more martyrs than the entire early church contributed during the period of its establishment. In 1522 a special officer was appointed to search for Luther's writings. At Brussels, July 1, 1523, the Augustinians Henry Voes and John Esch received the martyr's crown. These first martyrs of Lutheranism, when fastened to the stake, repeated the Apostles' Creed, and then, until suffocated by the flames, chanted responsively the *Te Deum laudamus*. Instead of striking the Lutherans with dismay, this martyrdom only inspired them with new courage. A shout of triumph arose from their leader, exultant at the grace which God had given feeble men in the hour of their trial. Luther writes:

> To all the dear brethren in Christ who are in Holland, Brabant, and Flanders, together with all believers in Christ Jesus: To you it is given, before all the world, not only to hear the gospel and to learn of Christ, but also to be the first, for Christ's sake, to suffer shame and loss, pain and anguish, imprisonment and danger, and to be now so strong and fruitful as to have sprinkled and confirmed your testimony with your own blood; since the two precious jewels of Christ, Henry and John, at Brussels, counted their lives of no account, in order that Christ might be glorified. What a trifling thing it is for those whose death is precious in God's sight to be dishonored and slain by the world!

Lutheranism spread as it was persecuted. Repeated edicts, and the threat of the emperor that he would "be an enemy to his own father, mother, brother, or sister, if any one of them became Lutheran," were powerless to check its progress. The evangelical cause was strengthened in 1524 and 1525 by the presence in the Netherlands of Christian II. of Denmark, whose queen, Isabella, the sister of the emperor, had, in direct opposition to her

brother's threats, become a warm advocate of Luther's cause. In 1525 another confessor of the faith was burned at the stake, John Bekker, or Pistorius, of Woerden, a former Wittenberg student. The same year Erasmus testifies: "The greater part of the people in Holland, Zealand, and Flanders know the doctrine of Luther, and are excited with more than deadly hatred toward the monks." As often happens, persecution on the one side led to extremes on the other. To many Lutheranism was not sufficiently aggressive. The excesses of Anabaptism broke through the restraints, beginning with 1525. Anabaptism was a more effective check to the progress of Lutheranism than either sword or stake. Its crimes were placed to the charge of the revived gospel. Thus, in 1534, the Council of Deventer bound themselves by an oath to aid the suppression of Lutheranism, "the mother of Anabaptism." While separate Lutheran congregations began to be formed, according to V. E. Löscher, as early as 1528 at Utrecht, nevertheless for a long time Lutheranism was the name of a powerful tendency, before it began to organize congregations. At Antwerp the Augustinians were especially influential, and furnished able preachers. Although Lutheranism was under the ban even there, refugees fled thither from other quarters, where the proscription was more vigorously executed. From an Antwerp press an edition of Tyndale's English New Testament had appeared in 1527. In 1528 Barnes, driven from England, was there. Tyndale's residence at Antwerp, and his imprisonment and execution at Vilvorde, twenty miles from Antwerp, October 6, 1536, are well known. John Rogers, while at Antwerp as an English chaplain, was won over to Lutheranism, and, with his Dutch wife, repaired to Wittenberg. The name of John of Amsterdam, appended to the Smalcald Articles of 1535, is that of John Timann, another former

Wittenberg student, who had found a freer field for the exercise of his distinguished gifts, as a preacher in St. Martin's Church, Bremen. Amsterdam, as a commercial center, was in constant intercourse with other parts of Europe, especially northern Germany and England, and could not remain isolated from the religious movements that were agitating the countries closely connected with its mercantile enterprises. In 1531 there were both Lutherans and Reformed among its citizens.

Gradually Calvinism gained the ascendancy over Lutheranism in the Netherlands. The organization of the adherents of the Reformed faith into separate congregations had been delayed until the sad period in the history of the Lutheran Church when in Germany, its center, it was oppressed by the calamities of the Smalcald War, and weakened by serious and far-reaching internal dissensions. The same influences that lost England to the Lutheran Church lost for it Holland. The persecutions, as they increased in violence, drove many of the Dutch into places where Calvinism had obtained a firm hold, and they returned from their exile warm advocates of the faith they had learned abroad. Men under the sting of great wrongs preferred a more radical antagonism to Rome than they thought could be found in Lutheranism. Account must also be taken for linguistic affinities. Brandt, in his "History of the Reformation in the Low Countries,"[1] says: "The reason why they did not follow the Confession of Augsburg was chiefly the neighborhood and affinity of language between the Walloons and the French, and the agreement of that of the Flemings and the Brabantes with the Walloon speech." Neither was the fact that William of Orange was a son-in-law of Admiral Coligni without its signifi-

[1] Vol. i., p. 142.

cance. The ascendancy was not gained without a conflict, which we will find transferred a century later to America. But from the time of the General Synod in Antwerp in 1565, and the failure in 1567 of the commission of eminent Lutherans sent from Germany, headed by Flacius and Spangenberg, to conciliate the Reformed, the separation of the interests of the two confessions and the very decided minority of the Lutherans were inevitable. The Belgic Confession of 1561 had become the formal protest of the Reformed Church of the Netherlands, not only against Rome, but also against the Augsburg Confession. The Heidelberg Catechism was ordered, in 1574, to be taught in all churches. In 1572 Holland and Zealand had adopted Calvinism. In 1583 it had prevailed in all the United Provinces.

The first Lutheran congregation organized with the recognition of the Augsburg Confession as its basis is that of Woerden, dating from 1566. In 1567 a Lutheran church was under roof at Antwerp, and elders had been appointed.[1] At the very time when the Duke of Alva was proceeding to execute the purpose of Philip II. to exterminate all Protestants in the Netherlands, there was anything but a cordial feeling between the Lutherans and the Reformed. In their relations with the magistrates, the Lutherans insisted upon a moderate course. They submitted to any restrictions, provided only they were allowed the free exercise of their religion. In return, they obtained privileges which were denied the Reformed, as, in the opinion of the magistrates, more turbulent and violent. It has been repeatedly suggested that the magistrates favored the Lutherans in order to provoke jealousy between the two Protestant parties, and to render any reconciliation less

[1] Preger's "Matthias Flacius Illyricus," vol. ii., p. 287.

difficult. "The Lutherans," says the Remonstrant historian Brandt, quoting from the Jesuit Strada, concerning the state of affairs at Kiel, near Antwerp, "excelled the Calvinists or Reformed, and the Anabaptists, with respect to the quality of their adherents and followers, who consisted of the principal inhabitants." While the Calvinists went to their religious meetings armed, the Lutherans went unarmed. Finally, St. George's Church, Antwerp, was assigned the Lutherans for their services, while no church building was allowed the Reformed. The hostility between the two parties was appeased only by the unwearied efforts of the Prince of Orange.

Even within the Reformed party dissensions arose, as some were more conciliatory and others more aggressive with respect to Lutheranism. John Arents, a Reformed pastor at Amsterdam, had read from the pulpit Articles X. and XIII. of the Augsburg Confession, and affirmed that he had never taught anything contrary to these articles. His brethren at Antwerp, regarding this an unwarranted concession to Lutheranism, sent a pastor with two elders to obtain a recantation, under penalty of excommunication; but before this could be gained the Duke of Alva was pressing them with a more immediate danger. This circumstance shows either a more amicable feeling between the Reformed and Lutherans at Amsterdam than at Antwerp, or that at Amsterdam the Lutherans were in the preponderance. However that may be, the most strenuous efforts made to induce the Reformed to subscribe the Augsburg Confession, as a condition of a political alliance with some of the German states for protection in their extreme peril, all failed. The answer was that "they were willing to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession in all matters conformable to the Holy Scriptures, left us by the apostles and prophets, but, since the article of the Lord's Supper,

in which they differed from the Lutherans, was of very great importance, and required further consideration, they should be obliged seriously to consult with their ministers, and with the gravest of their members, before they could come to any resolution."[1] In vain, in 1567, William of Orange urged: "Do what you have been so often advised to do. Unite with the Lutherans. The difference is too small for you to keep up separate interests. In that case, I hope I shall be able to defend you with the help of the German princes."[2]

The Lutheran theologian, Flacius Illyricus, on his arrival at Antwerp in October, 1566, found that the Lutherans and Calvinists had each six preachers, and represented a combined population of about thirty thousand souls. The difficulties between the two parties were not altogether of a doctrinal character. The Lutherans feared being compromised by what they regarded the radical attitude of the Reformed toward the government. The opinion of Flacius was: "It is written that, when for the sake of religion magistrates persecute you in one city, flee into another; but it is not written that, when the magistrates persecute you, you are to take up the sword and attack them."[3] This opinion seems not to have been universally approved. Flacius himself wrote afterward: "If the city is suddenly invested, ours will defend themselves with the rest."[4] While his visit failed in adjusting the differences between the two confessions, its great significance lay in the foundation provided for the more thorough organization of Lutheran congregations. During his stay he wrote a confession in the name of the preachers of Antwerp, which appeared in Dutch and French in November, 1567. With his

[1] Brandt, vol. i., p. 223. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[3] Preger's "Matthias Flacius Illyricus und seine Zeit," vol. ii.
[4] *Ibid.*

associates, he prepared also an *Agende*, or Order of Service, and Ministerial Acts. The late American liturgical scholar, Dr. B. M. Schmucker, has found that this same year a translation into Dutch of "at least the second part of the Brandenburg-Nuremberg Agende"[1] was published at Wesel. This second part is the explanation of Luther's catechism in "Sermons to Children," which, in its English translation of 1549, is known as "Cranmer's Catechism." This suggests that the Dutch order of Flacius may have been simply a translation of the classical Brandenburg-Nuremberg Order of 1533.

Flacius intended to permanently identify himself with the Lutheran Church of the Netherlands, and left, to remove his family to what he thought was to be their new home. But before he could return the Spanish persecution had suppressed the evangelical worship at Antwerp. The congregation was scattered; but by the labors of Flacius, Lutheranism in Holland had been reduced to some order, and had now a fixed form.

As early as 1573 the Lutherans of Antwerp began to emigrate to Frankfort on the Main, where in 1585 they received large additions, when the Duke of Parma compelled those faithful to the Lutheran Confession to abandon their old home. Their pastor, Cassiodorus Reinius, who came with the exiles in 1585, supported himself by silk-weaving until his death, in 1594. They carried with them the written testimonial of the magistrates "that the said ministers and their assistants had ever since the year 1578, when the free exercise of their religion was allowed them, to that very day on which they were forced to forbear the same, behaved in the government and direction of their church, and in all other matters relating to the com-

[1] Pencil note to König's "Bibliotheca Agendorum," p. 3, in Liturgical Library at Mount Airy.

mon good and public tranquillity, modestly and dutifully, toward the magistrates and all the higher powers, according to the stipulations between them and the magistrates of the city."[1] A few years before they had been exiled, Conrad Schlüsselberg, a name well known among Lutherans, for his able exposition of the Formula of Concord in twelve volumes, had been one of its pastors, and Polycarp Lyser, the distinguished editor of the works of Chemnitz, had written him a very decided protest for what he regarded his premature abandonment in 1582 of the pastorate at Antwerp.[2]

When at last religious freedom was secured for the Northern Provinces, which were bound together by the Union of Utrecht, and the separation between what became the Protestant and the Roman Catholic portions of the country was effected, the ecclesiastical center of both the Reformed and the Lutherans was at Amsterdam. There were frequent conflicts between the two parties. The Lutherans, because of their moderation, had to suffer for what was regarded as a lack of patriotism in the struggle with Spain. From the controversies that had arisen in Germany the Lutherans of Holland could not keep isolated. It was with the very purpose of silencing a charge which was afterward made by the Arminian prime-minister and theologian Grotius, in a remarkable speech before the magistrates of Amsterdam in 1616, that the Lutherans of Holland, to the great offense of the Reformed, were advocates of the Formula of Concord of 1580. The charge of Grotius was that Lutheranism was a schism, which "had its beginning about the year 1530," and that it was following the prescribed course of all schisms. As both Donatists and Novatians had been divided into numerous sects,

[1] Brandt, vol. i., p. 400.

[2] "Epistolæ," p. 288.

so "the Lutherans, after having separated from the rest of the Protestant churches, were immediately split into Flacians, Osiandrians, etc." But the Lutherans of Holland were not chargeable with these errors and divisions. Even in Antwerp, the adherents of Flacius, when he propounded his peculiar views concerning sin and human nature being since the fall identical, had not been as many as the connection of Flacius with that congregation, and his influence in it and the entire Netherlands for good, would have warranted. No language can be clearer than that in which the preface to the "Book of Concord" refers with sympathy to the persecuted Reformed, and, with indignant censure, to their persecutors in the Netherlands.

> By this writing of ours, we testify in the sight of Almighty God, and before the entire church, that it has never been our purpose, by means of this godly formula for union, to occasion trouble or danger to the godly who to-day are suffering persecution. For as, moved by Christian love, we have already entered into the fellowship of grief with them, so we are shocked at the persecution and most grievous tyranny which, with such severity, is exercised against these poor men, and sincerely detest it. For in no way do we consent to the shedding of that innocent blood, for which undoubtedly a reckoning will be demanded with great severity from the persecutors at the awful judgment of the Lord, and before the tribunal of Christ, and they will certainly render a most strict account and suffer fearful punishment.[1]

But the Reformed in Holland interpreted the Formula as a declaration of war against them, and wrote a long and decided but, in tone, very conciliatory protest, complaining of the document as an injury and misrepresentation of them and their teaching, addressed to Andreæ, Chemnitz, and the other authors, and signed "the ministers of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands." Even with this opposition they reduce the points of difference between the Reformed and the Formula of Concord to a minimum. "Even our greatest enemies," they say, "are convinced

[1] "Book of Concord" (Jacobs), vol. i., p. 17.

that all our differences consist at present in two points only."[1] With the Formula's clear statements concerning Flacianism, Osiandrianism, Antinomianism, and Synergism, they seem to have no difficulty. They argue that the Formula's professed agreement with the Augsburg Confession settles nothing, "for we do not look upon that confession to be a gospel." "Zwingli, Œcolampadius, Bucer, Melanchthon, and Martyr," they say, "do far exceed Luther in learning."

In the controversies of those times there were undoubtedly intemperate and injudicious representatives of Lutheranism, who did the cause they advocated more harm than good by the bitterness which they introduced into the discussions. To sift the evidence is almost impossible. But we can readily understand how, at Woerden, where there was a German garrison and the German influence was strongest, national and linguistic elements would easily be intermingled with the doctrinal differences. From these various circumstances it can be seen that the struggle of Lutheranism for existence in Holland was not over when danger from Spain had passed. A few extracts from the Remonstrant historian will illustrate this.

In the synod at Amsterdam, in January, 1600, it was resolved "that the ministers should lay before the magistrates an account of the places where the Lutherans met, with reasons for suppressing the conventicles."[2] When the magistrates of Woerden began to act accordingly, and an appeal to the States-General was made in 1602 by the Lutherans, the deputies from the various provinces were almost unanimous in sustaining the appeal. "Leyden was of the opinion that the petitioners were the best patriots of the state, and that they ought to enjoy the fruits of what

[1] Brandt, vol. i., p. 365. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 15.

was formerly conceded them."[1] The succeeding year, another attempt was made by the Reformed synod, in which they preferred a complaint against "the scandal which was occasioned to good and sincere minds by the too public exercise of religion, performed by those who indeed call themselves of the Augsburg Confession, but who are not so; forasmuch as our religion, which is styled the Reformed, has a greater conformity to it, in the matter of the Lord's Supper."[2] The final result, a year afterward, was that the Lutherans were allowed religious services, on the condition of their holding them at an hour when they would be attended "with as little scandal and offense to the members of the Reformed Church as possible."[3] The hours were accordingly fixed as from April 1st to the close of October at 7 A.M. and 5 P.M.; and from November 1st to the close of March, 8 A.M. and 4 P.M., or "as the daylight would permit." The pastor Glaserus was informed that, in case of any violation of this rule, his town would be "placed upon the same footing with the rest of the towns of Holland and West Friesland, where no other religion besides that of the true Christian Reformed was allowed."[4] In 1603 the clergy of Holland and West Friesland published a remonstrance, in which, referring to the Lutherans, they say: "Their assemblies and the exercise of their persuasion in some of the principal towns, as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Woerden, and elsewhere, are very dangerous and hurtful, not only to the church, but also to the state."[5] When the distinguished Remonstrant preacher Uyetenbogart was told of these efforts by some deputies of the Synod of South Holland, he remarked: "You are a strange kind of people; you bear harder upon those who differ little with you, than upon those who differ much."[6] In

[1] Brandt, vol. ii., p. 15. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, p. 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 17. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 29. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

1604 the Lutherans were denied for a time the right of private meetings in Amsterdam.

One more illustration will suffice: in 1615 the classis of Woerden petitioned that the Lutherans at Bodegrave should not be allowed to hold separate meetings, and urged the following reasons: "First, because they agreed with the Reformed Church in the fundamentals of religion." The Lutherans were thus impaled upon the horns of a dilemma. If they had been fundamental errorists, then the plea would have been that the exercise of their religion was perilous to both church and state; but since it was acknowledged to be fundamentally correct, it must be suppressed as unnecessary. "Secondly, because one of the principal inducements for making a schism had been removed by the resolutions which the states of Holland had taken for the preservation of the church's peace. Thirdly, because they, the ministers of the Reformed Church, were willing to admit the said Lutherans to Christian communion, and allow them to retain their opinions, provided they were quiet. Fourthly, because they had refused to admit our people at Hamburg, and elsewhere, to their communion, upon the very same foot. Fifthly, because it gave offense; nothing of this nature having been tolerated in any of the towns of Holland. Sixthly, because their proceedings were contrary to the former resolutions of the states, and particularly to their last public prohibition; besides, that many who were used to come to church, and were well enough contented, were now dissatisfied, and stayed away, to the diminution of the alms, prejudice of the poor, and increase of the troubles and divisions."[1]

This antagonism proved more annoying than formidable. The "states of Holland" were on the side of tolerance.

[1] Brandt, vol. ii., p. 188.

The rise of Arminianism, just as the seventeenth century was entered, gave Calvinism in Holland an opponent, which, for the time being, was deemed more formidable. The struggle was political as well as theological and ecclesiastical. Maurice of Orange became the warm friend and promoter of Calvinism. Arminianism had its exile in one of the greatest of Dutch scholars, jurists, and theologians, Grotius, and its distinguished martyr in John of Barneveldt. It was condemned in the decrees of the Synod of Dort of 1619. The Arminian preachers and teachers were expelled from most of the states. The Lutherans saw that the decrees of Dort had wider application than to the Arminians, and that, even though their execution with respect to them were not enforced, nevertheless whenever the circumstance that they were fortified by their connection with German states and princes, whose disfavor was feared, would change, they must eventually suffer. The theological faculty at Wittenberg reviewed the decrees of Dort in a book, issued in 1621, entitled "A Faithful Warning to all the Lutheran Christians in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Other Countries Thereunto Belonging, Carefully to Abstain from the Erroneous and Highly Pernicious Calvinistic Religion," which gives warning that Lutherans in Reformed districts of Germany have serious grounds for apprehending similar treatment to that which the Arminians suffered at Dort. A change occurred on the death of Maurice in 1625. In 1630 the Arminians were allowed to erect churches and schools in all parts of the country.

Amid all these occurrences a succession of Lutheran pastors labored quietly, but none the less faithfully, in the large congregation at Amsterdam.[1]

[1] Their names are worthy of record. We give the list until the close of the century: 1589, A. Nesscher, until 1601; 1590, J. van der Popelier, until 1593; 1594, A. Visscher, died 1613; 1601, J. Willemsz, died 1615; 1605,

The regulations for the government of the churches in Holland were framed according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of 1577, published by William of Orange and the States-General. As they prevailed not only in the Reformed but also in the Lutheran churches of Holland, they aid us in tracing peculiarities in our own church government, derived from the Dutch Lutherans. These regulations of William begin with the statement that in the administration of church government there are four classes of officers: pastors, doctors or professors of theology, elders, and deacons. No one is to enter the ministry unless duly called. When elected to a congregation, he must submit to an examination before the elders of the church. No one is to be admitted into the pulpit of a church until his name have been published therefrom for three successive Sundays. The ministers of every town are to hold a pastoral conference every two weeks, and each member, in turn, is to open the meetings with an exegetical paper, which is then to be discussed. All dissensions among ministers are to be settled, if possible, among the ministers alone; if not, they are to be referred to the elders; and if the elders do not succeed in adjusting the difficulty, the magistrate is appealed to. When charges against a minister are not sustained, those who have brought the accusation are to be punished. Annual visitations are to be made throughout the country churches by two elders and one or two of the ministers of

J. Cremerius, until 1608; 1609, C. Pfyffer, died 1643; 1613, A. Glaserus, died 1624; 1615, J. van Batevelt, died 1633; 1626, J. von Wullen, died 1640; 1630, Adolphus Visscher Adolfz, died 1652; 1641, Paulus Cordes, died 1674; 1643, Elias Taddel, died 1660; 1644, R. Ligarius, died 1680; 1655, J. E. Bloom, died 1683; 1660, C. Hoppe, died 1670; 1662, H. van Born, died 1701; 1670, V. Visscher, died 1678; 1673, A. G. Velten, died 1679; 1678, H. Vos, died 1708; 1679, J. Colerus, until 1693; 1680, P. Weslingh., died 1732; 1683, T. Dominicus, died 1713; 1692, B. Haan, died 1702.—"Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. vii., p. 34 sqq.

every capital town. Baptism is to be administered only by ministers, and, unless the necessity be urgent, only in the church. No child offered for baptism is to be rejected. Sponsors are neither to be required nor refused. The Lord's Supper is to be administered at Easter, Whitsunday, first Sunday in September, and Sunday after Christmas. Notice is to be given the preceding Sunday, that children coming to the Lord's Table for the first time may be instructed in the catechism, and that opportunity may be given for conference with others who desire it. The communicants are to be exhorted to examine themselves, lest they eat and drink to condemnation. Every communicant receives the elements immediately from the minister. The lay eldership is established by the following provision:

> The magistrates of every place shall choose from among themselves more or fewer persons, according to their numbers, good men and such as are not inexperienced in the business of religion, in order to assist the pastors in church affairs, and to be present at their meetings, to the end that, if anything should be transacted there of which the government ought to be informed, they may give an account of it, and do such other things as the law has annexed to their office.

The deacons are "godly stewards who understand how to assist the poor, according to their necessities, in order that the trade of begging may be prevented, and the poor contained within the bounds of their duty." [1]

Eleven years before these laws were promulgated, viz., in 1566, William, with the concurrence of the magistrates, had named the elders for the Lutheran Church in Antwerp.[2] Flacius approved the presbytery of twelve elders, to which he became an official counselor.

We find the regulations of the Lutheran Church in Holland, in their fully developed form, in a statistical work

[1] Brandt, vol. i., pp. 318–22. [2] Preger, vol. ii., p. 287.

published before the seventeenth century closed, Benthem's "Condition of the Churches and Schools of Holland." This writer says that, with the exception of doctrine, the Lutheran Church in Holland was, at that time, in all respects the same as the Reformed. It had complied with this external order as the price of toleration, and, besides this, had been closely related to the Lutheran Church at Strassburg, where a similar resemblance to the Reformed had prevailed. It was not only numerous, but it possessed, in other respects, the highest standing. At that time there were thirty-four churches and forty-five ministers, nearly all of whom had been educated at Jena. While, since then, there has been a steady growth, how slow it has been may be seen when we find that in two centuries there has been an increase of only about thirty ministers, including the two branches into which the Lutherans of Holland are now divided. At Amsterdam there were for the one congregation two church buildings, with six ministers, one of whom preached in German, and thirty thousand souls. For many generations it had the distinction of being the largest Lutheran congregation in the world. This large and wealthy congregation had to bear the chief burden of the support of the Lutheran Church throughout the entire country; and with this responsibility it gained corresponding influence. Spener complained afterward that this influence was abused, and the consistorium of Amsterdam domineered over the Lutheran congregations in Holland.[1] Every five years a synod of all the Lutheran congregations was held at Amsterdam. It was the gradual development of the union, made in 1605, between seven of the Lutheran pastors, whose parishes had previously been isolated and independent, which was followed by the "Fraternity" of

1 "Letze Bedenken" (1693), vol. iii., p. 417.

1614. Important matters occurring between the meetings were settled, if possible, by an appeal to the three nearest congregations. Next to the congregation at Amsterdam, that at Leyden, with seven hundred members and two ministers, ranked in importance.

Their public service was very similar to that of their Reformed neighbors; and yet it had some noteworthy features. The gospels and epistles for the church year were read in course and explained. Besides Luther's Catechism, questions prepared by John Ligarius were used in the instruction of the young. Fliedner, writing in 1831, notes, with other indications of the desolations made by Rationalistic influences, that, instead of Luther's Catechism, every preacher was then using whatever he pleased. The church prayers of the Dutch Lutheran churches of the sixteenth century were not extemporaneous, but those which the church appointed were read before and after the sermon. Baptism was without exorcism. Before communion, instead of the private confession that had been usual in other portions of the Lutheran Church, a preparatory service with public absolution was held the preceding Friday. The following extract from the order of confession and absolution will doubtless interest many:

1. I ask you, in God's stead, whether you experience in yourselves, and, with humble hearts, confess that you are poor, lost sinners, who have often and grievously offended the Lord your God, secretly and openly, knowingly and ignorantly, in thoughts, words, and deeds, and besides have in various ways also injured your neighbors, and have thus deserved all temporal and eternal punishments? And do you pray God to forgive you? *Answer*, Yes.

2. I ask you whether you firmly believe that God, according to his infinite mercy, for the sake of the precious merits of Jesus Christ, his Son, not only forgives you all your sins, but also, as a seal thereof, in the Lord's Supper gives us his Body and Blood, under the bread and wine to eat and drink? Is this your sincere belief? *Answer*, Yes.

3. I ask you whether it be also, by God's grace, your purpose to amend your sinful lives, to bring forth the true fruits of repentance and faith, to show yourselves to be new creatures in Christ, to walk in the Spirit, after

the new man, and not only to forgive from the heart your neighbor who has offended you, but also to prove your love to him, and henceforth to remain faithful to God's everlasting Word, and our true Christian religion even unto death? *Answer,* Yes.

The Faithful and Merciful God, who has given you to will this, will also enable you to accomplish it, to the glory of his holy name, and to the everlasting salvation of you all, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Humble yourselves, then, before the Lord your God, confess to him, with broken and contrite hearts, all your sins, and pray with me:

Most Just and Merciful God, we poor men confess not only that we have been conceived and born in sins, but that we have often offended against thy holy commandments and grievously transgressed them. But as Jesus Christ has come into the world to save sinners, we pray, O faithful God and Father, that, for Christ's sake, thou wouldst forgive all our sins, receive us into thy grace, and grant us everlasting life. Grant us also, Heavenly Father, heartfelt repentance, firm faith, true godliness of life, and steadfastness, even unto the end, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Upon this, your confession and prayer to God, as a minister of Jesus Christ, and in accordance with his Word in John, the twentieth chapter, "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained," I declare unto all who are penitent the forgiveness of all their sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But unto the impenitent, their sins are retained, until they amend, for which may God grant them grace, through Jesus Christ, in whose name we pray: "Our Father, who art in heaven," etc.

The church constitution of 1597, as revised in 1614, 1644, and 1681, binds all preachers to teach according to the rule of the divine Word, as declared in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, and forbids them to depart from either the doctrine or the modes of expression "of our symbolical books, viz., the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Formula of Concord, together with the two catechisms of Luther." All sermons are to be directed to the edification of the congregation, by teaching God's Word purely, distinguishing between true and false doctrine, and, with all plainness and directness, reproving sin. The constitution directs that the morning sermons must always be on the gospel for the day, and the afternoon sermon on the epistle, Luther's Cate-

chism, or some other edifying text. The Sunday morning service is limited to two hours, and the afternoon and week-day services to an hour. In after-years, with the Rationalistic deterioration the length of the sermons seems to have increased, Augusti, in 1837,[1] complaining of the extensive length of their discourses of from two to three hours, which had grown by concession to a popular demand. This has been confirmed by the testimony of a living American Lutheran minister, who formerly resided in Holland, and was a frequent worshiper in those churches.

The Lutherans of that purer period, which the emigrants who founded our church in America represented, during Lent heard the Passion History explained, and, as children, were examined every Sunday afternoon in the catechism. No private religious meetings were held without the knowledge and approval of the pastor. The administration of the Lord's Supper was announced two weeks in advance. Before their first communion, a careful examination was made of all young persons. To prevent those from coming to the Lord's Supper who had not been properly instructed and been present at the preparatory service, or otherwise privately conferred with the pastor, the custom widely prevalent in the Reformed Church had been adopted by the Lutherans. Those entitled to commune were furnished with "tokens," which the elders standing by the side of the Lord's Table received as the communicants approached. At the previous distribution of the tokens by the elders to applicants, one or more of the pastors was present to see that none received them who should not commune. As they received the communion they knelt, and psalms and hymns were sung by the rest of the congregation. Rigid discipline was exercised according to

[1] Vol, ii., p. 409.

a detailed process. The church constitution admonishes those whom the Lord has endowed with riches to make provision in their wills for the church and the poor; and charges pastors in all their sermons to urge works of love toward the poor, and to never forget to pray for the sick.

Every congregation was governed by a "consistorium," composed of the pastors and lay elders, or such other persons as were elected by the congregation. The final decision in all doctrinal questions belonged to the pastors. All discussions of the consistorium were secret. Ordinations occurred either in the congregation of which the candidate had been elected pastor, or in the congregation at Amsterdam. The representatives of the three nearest congregations and a representative of the congregation at Amsterdam officiated at such ordinations. Controversies between pastors were not brought before the congregation, but were settled in the consistorium. The congregation was held responsible for the support of the widows and orphans of its pastors.

The provisions of the Holland order concerning lay elders especially concern us, since we know their influence upon our own churches. The time for their election was fixed as the first Sunday in May, at the time and place of the afternoon service. Ten names were nominated yearly for elders, and twelve for deacons, double the number to be elected. The term of service was two years. No one elected was excused, unless for most clear and weighty reasons. To avoid all offense, a father and son, or two brothers, or two brothers-in-law could not serve in these offices at the same time. They were installed with the laying on of hands, and, at the expiration of their term, they were dismissed from office, according to a very full order, in which they receive the thanks of the congregation for their services, and the benediction of the pastor. They

were responsible for the pure preaching of God's Word, the right administration of the sacraments, the godly life, and the observance of the church regulations by the pastor; and, for this purpose, the presence of at least some of the elders at every public service was deemed necessary. On the dismission of the congregation, they stood by the door with the receptacles for the collections in their hands, in order to receive the contributions of the people for the support of the church and for the poor. In this they were aided by the deacons. They saw to the support of the pastor, and coöperated with him in removing all causes of offense among the members, in reproving sin wherever it occurred, in bringing the erring to repentance, or, where this could not be effected, in the exercise of discipline.

The deacons were purely collectors and distributers of alms. In their house-to-house visitations they were charged with the duty of bringing to the church service those who had been negligent in this particular. There was also a special office devoted to the care of the sick. This included frequent visitations by one competent to console the sick with God's Word, who reported to the pastor as his spiritual, and to the deacons as their pecuniary, aid was needed. As parish clerk, the same officer was charged with the duty of putting the hymns on the hymn-board, keeping the register of baptisms and marriages, collecting the requests for the special prayers of the congregation, and reporting all irregularities of those receiving alms to the deacons or consistorium. This office of *Zieken-trooster*, "comforter of the sick," was found in the Reformed churches in Holland, and was transplanted by them to America.

Such was the Lutheran Church in Holland when it sent members to the colony which Holland had founded on the banks of the Hudson, and when the Dutch Lutheran churches in New York were under the care of the consis-

torium of Amsterdam. Overshadowed, on the one hand, by the great numerical superiority of the Reformed Church, to which it aimed at conforming in all external things, and entirely dependent, on the other, upon Germany for the training of its ministry, it was unable to develop a life of its own, and became, in the last century, an easy prey to the desolations of Rationalism, as they pervaded both the Reformed Church of Holland and Lutheran Germany, or were drawn from contact with Arminianism, as it met the same crisis. A church that is satisfied with importing its theology from abroad, and at most translating it into the language of the nation which it has entered, will have far less influence on that nation, than the prevalent national life and thought will have upon it. This the Lutheran Church of Holland has felt to its sorrow. The prevalent tendency is still that of the Modern Criticism that flourishes so extensively in that land. The Rationalistic struggle, however, led to the separation of a number of churches and pastors at the close of the last century, who have attempted to restore a pure Lutheranism by holding more closely to the Augsburg Confession and reverting to a more churchly order of service. Both divisions of the Lutheran Church in Holland provide now for theological training in Holland, the more liberal by a theological seminary at Amsterdam, founded in 1816, with a few students, and the more orthodox by the delivery of theological lectures in the university at Amsterdam by one of the professors.

CHAPTER II.

THE LUTHERANS OF THE NEW NETHERLANDS (1624–1700).

THE Dutch Lutherans of New York are assigned the priority, not because of the date in which they had organized congregations—for in this respect the Swedes are clearly in advance—but because of the time in which they most probably had members in this country. While the earliest mention of them is that made by the Jesuit missionary, Jogues, in 1643, yet they are there referred to as enjoying religious liberty, notwithstanding the law against other faiths than the Reformed, which was not enforced. Even the Reformed, notwithstanding their preponderance in numbers, and the fact that they constituted the state church in Holland, did not begin an organized congregation for several years. The earlier settlers of New York came for commercial purposes. Unlike the Pilgrims of New England, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Salzburgers of Georgia, and the Palatinates of the succeeding century, there was no religious motive back of their emigration. The settlers were the more adventurous spirits of the golden age of Holland, when she ranked with France and England among the first powers in the world. The heart of the whole movement was at Amsterdam. Among the thirty thousand Lutherans of that city, comprising much wealth and influence, there were undoubtedly those found who from the very beginning coöperated with the rest of their countrymen in this enterprise. The smaller places

furnished their representatives, while it is not improbable that exiled families from Antwerp and other portions of the Catholic provinces were in the number.

A brief glance at the history of the Dutch colony is of service in enabling us to understand the position and significance of these first Lutheran emigrants. In 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, had discovered and explored the river that bears his name. In 1612 three Amsterdam merchants sent two vessels to the Hudson to trade with the Indians, which were followed the succeeding year by two more. Fort Nassau, near Albany, was built at this time, and huts were built on the southern part of Manhattan Island. These ventures proving successful, a charter was granted Amsterdam merchants in 1614 allowing them the exclusive right of trade for three years. They prepared the way for further enterprise especially by the treaty of Tawasentha with the Indians, which established the generally pacific character and friendly relations of the Dutch to the natives. Although there was at times, and particularly so during the administration of Kieft, war between the two sides, the Dutch knew too well how greatly their success as traders in furs depended upon their amicable intercourse with those whom they used as their agents in gathering them. As clear-headed, practical men, thoroughly pervaded by the mercantile spirit, their wrongs to the Indians were inflicted more by their shrewd bargains than by violence. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was chartered, which, from that time, or rather from the time of its approval by the States-General in 1623, exercised the control, as well as received the profits. The company preoccupied the field by a yacht, sent out in 1622, which was followed by the "New Netherland," with a colony chiefly of Walloons, residents of Holland and Belgium, of French extraction, in

1624. The succeeding year the number of settlers was two hundred. In 1626 Peter Minuit, a native German from Rhenish Prussia, became director-general. He bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for twenty-four dollars. A recent apologist suggests that if the amount which that represents now be calculated at compound interest from then, it will, after all, be found not to have been so very small. The advent of Minuit was distinguished for its having introduced two "comforters of the sick," Krol and Huyck, who held services "in an upper room in a horse-mill." It is very strange that, with all the interest taken in their history, the first pastorate had entirely vanished from sight until the comparatively recent discovery of a letter in Holland, of which a facsimile is printed in James Grant Wilson's "Memorial History of New York," makes it clear beyond a doubt that, 1628, August 11, Jonas Michaelius arrived as pastor, and established a form of church government with two elders, of whom the director, Minuit, became one, and that at the first Lord's Supper there were fifty communicants, Walloons and Dutch. In 1633 there was a change both in the directorship and the pastorate, Wouter van Twiller succeeding Minuit, and Everardus Bogardus, Michaelius. The first church was built and the first schoolmaster began his work the same year. From 1637, for ten years, William von Kieft was director-general. He was arbitrary, grasping, and engaged in constant quarrels with the Indians. Kieft was succeeded by the last and greatest of the director-generals, Peter Stuyvesant. Whatever were his faults, he has left his permanent impress upon American history. He was a truly heroic character, conscientious, exacting, fearless, prompt in making his resolves and persistent in executing them. The laws made for the colony, as he explained it, "by God and the Dutch West India Company, and not by a few ignorant people,"

he was determined to see executed; the conveniences and preferences of individuals were nothing when compared with what he regarded the welfare of the community. As a consistent and uncompromising Calvinist, he believed that highest welfare to be connected with its religious life, as regulated according to the decrees of the Synod of Dort. Stuyvesant, the son of a clergyman, was born in Holland in 1602, had been governor at Curaçoa in the West Indies, and lost a leg in a battle with the Portuguese. He remained director until 1664, when, after he had made all preparations for defending New Amsterdam against the English until the last extremity, the intercessions of the Dutch ministers prevailed upon him to desist from what seemed to them to involve a useless loss of life, and to gracefully surrender.

Up to the middle of the seventeenth century the Lutherans do not seem to have given the authorities any trouble. But with the increase of prosperity under Stuyvesant's energetic rule their numbers were probably still growing. The time came when they felt that they should no longer be content with attending the services of their Reformed friends, but should have the privilege of services of their own. Like their ancestors during the preceding century in Holland, they were peaceful, law-abiding, and in no way aggressive. They had been waiting their time patiently, and believed that it had come. As their children were born they had heretofore brought them regularly to the Reformed pastors for baptism, as was the custom among Lutherans in Holland where there were no Lutheran pastors. The Reformed Dutch Order for Baptism of 1591 had required only that parents and sponsors promise that the child should be instructed in the doctrines of the Old and New Testaments and in the creed. This formula the Synod of Dort had revised, and connected with it the obligation

to the decrees of that synod. But even in Holland the introduction of this new regulation was very limited, and in his account of the Reformed Church given in 1698 by Benthem in his book on Holland, the formula of baptism is the older, and not the later one of Dort. It was regarded a better policy to attract those of other communions than to repel them when they offered their children. This seems to have been the case also in the New Netherlands. But, in accordance with Stuyvesant's principle that laws upon the statute-book should be enforced as they stood, and under the advice of the two prominent Reformed pastors, who were most staunch adherents of the most rigid form of Calvinism, the Lutherans found themselves compelled, if they would have their children baptized, to answer the questions of the revised formula. This intensified the desire for services and a pastor of their own. As early as 1649 the Lutherans at New Amsterdam are called a "congregation" in the minutes of the consistory at Amsterdam, and their petition for a pastor (October 8th) is recorded.[1] In 1653, with characteristic regard for order, they presented their petition to the director of their colony. Again, the two Reformed pastors Megapolensis and Drisius were his advisers, and urged that no public services but those of the Reformed Church were allowable by law. Reformed writers of the present time, and the descendants of the Reformed Dutch of the New Netherlands, acknowledge and freely criticise this course of the two pastors, who have otherwise left a high reputation for their devotion and fidelity. Megapolensis, or Van Meklenburg (born 1601), had been a convert from Romanism and a missionary to the Indians, and, by the efforts made to save the life of his friend, Father Jogues, the Jesuit missionary, showed that he was not so illiberal as his course toward the Lutherans sug-

[1] Rev. Dr. J. Nicum in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 182.

gested. Drisius, who had arrived in 1652, was a German by birth, had been a chaplain at London, and had been selected for service in New Amsterdam because, besides the Dutch, he could preach in English, French, and German. The Lutherans, in perplexity as to what course to pursue, wrote to their friends in Holland, doubtless the consistory of Amsterdam, to intercede for them with the directors of the West India Company. The directors, while not inclined to force religious tests very rigidly, as they knew that such course could not aid in the development of the colony, were unwilling to interfere, but gave orders to Stuyvesant "to employ all moderate exertions to lure them to our churches, and to matriculate them in the public Reformed religion."[1] Private services were, however, allowed. But Stuyvesant was not satisfied with this, and at length, in 1656, found the opportunity for which he was longing to forbid even private services in the houses of Lutherans. His proclamation threatened any one with a penalty of one hundred pounds for preaching in a Lutheran service, and twenty-five pounds for attending one. Some of the Lutherans were actually imprisoned. But it did no injury to their cause. In 1656 a congregation is said to have existed at Albany. The directors gave a mild reproof to Stuyvesant, under date of June 14, 1656:

> We would have been better pleased if you had not published the placat against the Lutherans, a copy of which you sent us, and committed them to prison; for it has always been our intention to treat them quietly and leniently. Hereafter you will therefore not publish such or similar placats without our knowledge, but you must pass it over quietly, and let them have free religious exercises in their houses.[2]

Scarcely four months pass before, notwithstanding this reproof, the Lutherans, although confining themselves to

[1] O'Callaghan, vol. ii., p. 320.

[2] "Documents Relating to State of New York," vol. xiv., p. 351.

private services, are again in trouble. On October 24th they presented an appeal, which Stuyvesant referred to the council at New Amsterdam, asking that their services be not interfered with, and stating that by the next summer they hoped to have a regular clergyman with them. The words of this appeal should go into history:

> We, the united members of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, here in the New Netherlands, show, with all due reverence, how that we have been obedient to your Honor's prohibitions and published placards, unwilling to collect together in any place to worship our God with reading and singing, although we solicited our friends in our Fatherland to obtain this privilege, who, as our solicitors, exerted themselves on our behalf, by the noble directors of the West India Company, our patroons. When, after their letters to us, containing their entreaties, they obtained that, they resolved unanimously and concluded that the doctrine of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession might be tolerated in the West Indies and the New Netherland, being under their direction, as is the practice in our Fatherland, under its excellent government. Wherefore, we address ourselves to your Honor, willing to acknowledge your Honor, as dutiful and obedient servants, with prayer that you will not any longer interrupt our religious exercises, which we, under God's blessing, are wishing to make with reading and singing, till, as we hope and expect, under God's aid, next spring, a qualified person shall arrive from our Fatherland to instruct us, and take care of our souls.[1]

Upon the presentation of this petition the council resolved to transmit it to the directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam; meanwhile that "the laws will be enforced against conventicles and public meetings of any but those belonging to the Reformed Dutch Church."[2]

In the summer of 1657 (June 6th) the Lutheran pastor had arrived. His name, in printed documents, is generally given as John Ernst Goetwater. A recent examination[3] of the archives of the Lutheran consistorium at Amsterdam shows that the name, as there known, was Goetwasser.

[1] O'Callaghan, vol. ii., p. 320.
[2] Catalogue of Dutch MSS. at Albany, under October 24, 1656.
[3] By Rev. Dr. J. Nicum in summer of 1892.

The MSS. at Albany spell his name (April 15, 1658) as Gutwater and (November 11, 1658) Gutwasser.

The Lutheran pastor did not receive the courtesies frequently extended by other clergymen to a new pastor. Some recent additions to what has been generally known of him are that he was recommended for the place to the consistory by Senior Paulus Schröck, that he was called April 3d, and examined and ordained April 10, 1657. In the published archives of the State of New York there is an interesting letter from Megapolensis and Drisius, dated August 5, 1657, in which they recount "the injuries that threaten this community by the encroachments of the heretical spirits," and say:

> It came to pass that a Lutheran preacher, Joannes Ernestus Goetwater, arrived in the ship the "Mill," to the great joy of the Lutherans, and especial discontent and disappointment of the congregation of this place; yea, of the whole land, even of the English. . . . We already have the snake in our bosom.

They beg that "a stop be put to the work, which they seem to intend to push forward with a hard Lutheran pate, in despite of and opposition to the regents."[1] They urged also that the Lutheran pastor be sent home on the same ship on which he had come. This was prevented by Goetwasser's illness. But as soon as he was able it was decided, April 10, 1658, that he must "quit the province and return to Holland." The entry in the summary of the MSS. at Albany reads: "1658, May 20th. Lutheran minister and some bad women sent back to Holland." The directors at Amsterdam gave their verdict: "That you have sent back here the Lutheran preacher is not contrary to, but rather in accordance with, our good intentions, although you might have proceeded less vigorously," and concluded by saying that the aim must be

[1] "Doc. Hist. of New York," vol. iii., p. 103.

"not to alienate, but rather attract, people of different belief. We shall leave it to your prudence, and trust that henceforth you will use the least offensive and most tolerant means, so that people of other persuasions may not be deterred from the public Reformed Church, but in time be induced to listen, and finally gained to it." It is probable that Goetwasser did not actually leave at the time which, according to the above, seems clearly indicated; for according to a later record of the council, it is stated: "1658, November 11th. Rev. J. E. Gutwasser, Lutheran minister, to remain in New Amsterdam until otherwise directed."

Goetwasser's mission was not fruitless. "For some months the Lutherans enjoyed the presence and counsels of a pastor. He was not allowed to hold public service, but he could not be prevented from private personal ministrations. Not allowed to exercise his calling, it is doubtful whether he could even baptize their children, who were required by law to be presented by their parents at the Reformed Church, but he could comfort and strengthen them. Watched as he was, any infraction of the law against conventicles would have been vigorously punished." [1]

The directors at Amsterdam were not satisfied. They required soon afterward the restoration of the old formulary for baptism, thus eliminating from the promise conformity to the decrees of Dort. In 1659 (December 22d) they inform the Reformed pastors "that harmony could never be preserved unless a too overbearing preciseness be avoided, and if they should persist in their former course the company would be obliged to allow the Lutherans to have a separate church of their own." [2] But Stuyvesant was irrepressible. In 1662 he published another proclamation against the preaching of any other than the Reformed relig-

[1] Dr. B. M. Schmucker in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. iii., p. 210.
[2] Brodhead's "History of New York," vol. i., p. 656.

ion, "either in houses, barns, ships or yachts, in the woods or fields," under penalty of fifty guilders for the first offense "on each person found in attendance thereon, whether man, woman, or child, or who shall provide accommodations for heretics, vagabonds, or strollers." [1] But the day of relief for the Lutherans was at hand. It came with the surrender to the English in 1664.

We may add here the words of a very recent apologist for those who thus persecuted the Lutherans of the New Netherlands, and leave the reader to draw his own inferences:

It was the arbitrary spirit of the director, rather than religious narrowness on the part of the Dutch, that brought about such persecutions as occurred in New Netherland. Stuyvesant was a devout member of the Reformed Church; but above all, he believed in obedience to established authority, that power was derived from God, and that any one who rejected the generally accepted order of things was a disturber of the peace, and should be suppressed. When he persecuted a Lutheran or a Quaker, it was not so much the religious tenet that he attacked, as it was the individual man who presumed to set up peculiar views of his own, and obstinately follow them out, when the right way had been pointed out to him by his superiors.

In 1654, when the Lutherans had become numerous enough to have religious meetings of their own, Stuyvesant issued a proclamation pointing out the propriety of their attendance at the regular Dutch Church. What was good enough for the other inhabitants was good enough for them. When they tried to get a meeting-room for services, he prevented it. When they procured a minister from Holland, the director made life so uncomfortable for him that he left the colony. To have one body of nonconformists at liberty was to invite the presence of others; the idea was offensive to the director's sense of order. The Domines, Megapolensis and Drisius, were intolerant enough to support him. But the Lutherans appealed to Holland, where they found relief in the national spirit of liberty. The West India Company blamed Stuyvesant for persecuting these people, on grounds of both policy and principle. To retard the growth and happiness of a commercial colony on account of a "needless preciseness" on the sacrament of baptism was an act of folly; nor was it in accordance with the Christian spirit. So the Lutherans, who were law-abiding persons, were allowed henceforth full liberty of worship. [2]

1 O'Callaghan, vol. ii., p. 454.

2 "Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General for the West India Company in New Netherland," by Bayard Tuckerman, New York, 1893.

English rule being established in the New Netherlands, it was placed under the proprietorship of the Duke of York, who, even before this, had claimed for himself Long Island. Five years afterward the duke became a Roman Catholic, and in 1685 James II. Colonel Richard Nicolls, who had led the English forces against New Amsterdam, became governor, and continued in office until 1668. Under "the Duke's Laws," enacted in 1665, "no persons were to be molested, fined, or imprisoned for differing in matters of religion who profess Christianity," and at the same time no one was allowed to officiate as minister without ordination. The new governor soon received a request from the Lutherans asking that they be permitted to call a minister from Holland, which was cheerfully granted. The policy of Governor Nicolls was as far as possible to conciliate his Dutch subjects. Hence, even in this matter he found it expedient to make a special appeal to those who had hitherto been prejudiced against the Lutherans. He did so in these words:

GENTLEMEN: I have received letters from the Duke, wherein it is particularly signified unto me that his Royall Highness doth approve of the toleration given to the Lutheran Church in these parts. I do, therefore, expect that you live friendly and peaceably with those of that profession, giving them no disturbance in the exercise of their religion, as they shall receive no countenance in, but on the contrary strictly answer, any disturbance they shall presume to give unto any of you in your divine worship. So I bid you farewell, being

Your very loving friend,
RICHARD NICOLLS.

Fort James, in New York,
this 13th day of October, 1666.

Nicolls had ceased to be governor, however, before the Lutherans received a pastor. Governor Lovelace showed himself particularly friendly, encouraged them, and, when needed, defended them from the still deeply rooted prejudices that had prevailed against them. A young man

called and ordained for the place by the consistory at Amsterdam delayed leaving for three years, and then declined. A second call was given, and declined. After these disappointments, a pastor at last arrived in 1669, but the result was a still greater disappointment. His public and private life was such as to deepen every prejudice, and to disgrace his congregation. The public documents of those days, as they have been reprinted, have many records, giving the details of his quarrels with members of his congregations at Albany and New York, with his wife, from whom he was finally separated, and with the magistrates, by whom he was repeatedly arrested. He was not free from the great vice which had prevailed in the colony during Stuyvesant's days, when, notwithstanding the legal measures taken against the Lutherans, the moral standard was not rigid enough to prevent "almost one full fourth part of the town of New Amsterdam" from being devoted to "houses for the sale of brandy, tobacco, and beer." We would be inclined to pass over this record in entire silence if we had not the very best evidence that when transferred to another field he led an entirely different life, and even for years after he had become totally blind, served Swedish congregations in Delaware and Pennsylvania with a fidelity that has won for him high testimonials from the Swedish provost, Acrelius. The members of the Wicaco (*Gloria Dei*) congregation in 1691 testify to his "pure doctrine and exemplary life." Let the name of Jacob Fabritius be associated in the history of the Lutheran Church in America with the picture of an old man, chastened by his sorrows and penitent over the remembrance of his life in New York, rowed in a canoe from Kensington, his later residence, to his preaching-places, or led to the pulpit by an attendant, to proclaim in imperfect Swedish the praises of the Saviour of sinners to the sinful and tempted, rather than that presented to us con-

cerning his earlier years in this country. It is the glory of our holy religion that it is its especial mission to produce such changes. Fabritius had been sent by the consistory of Amsterdam. What had governed them in the selection, or whence the new pastor came, was not known, until an examination of documents in 1892, at Amsterdam, showed that he had previously been an ordained pastor at Grosglogan in Silesia, who had petitioned the consistory "for means to continue his travels." The thought was then suggested that he might be the very man who would suit for New Amsterdam. After preaching on the first Sunday in Advent he approved himself to them favorably, and the notice of his appointment, together with a copy of the liturgy then in use in the Lutheran churches in Holland, was immediately forwarded.[1] As before noticed, it has been the custom of the Lutheran Church in Holland to rely upon Germany for many of its ministers. It is not surprising, therefore, to hear from Acrelius: "He was by birth a German, or, as some have thought, a Pole."[2] The consistory had previously called two natives of Holland, who had disappointed them. History deals in facts, not in surmises. But we may suggest to future investigators the inquiry as to whether the precise identity of his name with that of Jacob Fabricius, the German court-preacher of Gustavus Adolphus, who put into meter the prose of the hymn of Gustavus Adolphus, "Fear not, O little flock, the foe," and died in 1654, as general superintendent in Stettin in Pomerania, and the readiness of this Jacob Fabritius (the second) to go to the Swedes, when his services could no longer be rendered in New York, and in whose language he could at once preach, may not indicate a near relationship. After being suspended and restored to the exercise

[1] Rev. Dr. Nicum in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 184.
[2] "History of New Sweden" (translation), p. 177.

of his office by the governor a number of times, the congregation at New York finally petitioned the consistory at Amsterdam in 1670 for the removal of Fabritius and the appointment of a new pastor.

Before the change could be effected a church building was erected. Martin Hoofman was sent in 1671 to the Lutherans on the Delaware to obtain aid from them. His passport begins:

> Whereas the ministers and officers of the Church of the Augustane Confession or Lutheran congregation, in this city, under the protection of his Royall Highness, the Duke of Yorke, have requested my license to build and erect a house for their church to meet in, toward the which they do suppose all or most of their profession will in some measure contribute, . . . they have pitcht upon Martin Hoofman to negotiate there for them.

But when erected, the division in the congregation concerning the disposition to be made of Fabritius caused legal proceedings to be entered for the payment of some of the subscriptions. It stood beyond the fortifications of the city, and was demolished in 1673, when the Dutch returned to power for a year, the congregation receiving due compensation for it.

Fabritius obtained permission to preach his farewell sermon and install his successor at the same time, August 11, 1671. Bernardus Arensius, whose pastorate extended until the last decade of the century, is described as "a gentle personage and of a very agreeable behavior"—probably a quiet, industrious pastor, of whom there is little record, because he was so intent upon his work. He devoted his summers to the congregation in New York, and his winters to that in Albany. In 1686 there were but four clergymen in the city of New York. "New York," says a contemporary record, "has first a chaplain belonging to the fort, of the Church of England; secondly, a Dutch Cal-

vinist; thirdly, a French Calvinist; fourthly, a Dutch Lutheran."[1]

An amusing incident is told by Rev. Charles Wolley, rector of the English, now Trinity, Church in 1679, concerning a successful attempt which he made to promote a more friendly feeling between the Lutheran and the Reformed Dutch pastor, Van Niewenhuysen. Mr. Wolley states that he was on intimate terms with both, while they were not on visiting, and barely on speaking, terms with each other. He planned, therefore, a surprise, and invited them both, with their wives, to supper. Their astonishment was great on being brought thus together, but at the table the embarrassment wore off, and they had a delightful evening, in honor of the host conversing entirely in Latin, "which," he says, "they spoke so fluently and promptly, that I blushed at myself, with a passionate regret that I could not keep pace with them."[2] Wolley was a Cambridge graduate.

The pastorate of Arensius covered a very trying period in the history of New York. The war between England and Holland kept the colony disquieted and prostrated trade. The colony itself was the scene of two changes of rule, as it passed from the English into the hands of the Dutch in 1673, and was restored in 1674. The first English governor after the restoration of English rule, Andros, was intensely unpopular and oppressive. The spirit of revolt against his authority was constantly breaking out. Under the lieutenant-governor, Brockholls, who administered affairs temporarily, and his successor, Governor Dongan, there was constant chafing. The succession of the Duke of York to the throne as James II., and his aggressiveness in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church,

[1] "Doc. History," vol. iii., p. 415.

[2] Quoted in Tuckerman's "Peter Stuyvesant," p. 158.

caused much disquiet. Open rebellion broke out when the attempt was made to consolidate all the northern colonies, to extend the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over them, and to require all schoolmasters to obtain from him their license; especially when the unpopular Andros returned to New York, as governor-in-chief and captain-general. The example of what was occurring in England suggested the remedy. If James II. was supplanted by William of Orange, why should not a Protestant assume authority in New York? Jacob Leister, a native of Frankfort on the Main, became dictator of New York in 1689. After various events, keeping the entire colony excited for two years, Leister was hanged, May 15, 1691.

The year of Leister's execution was that of the death of Arensius.[1] This was followed by a vacancy in the pastorate at New York and Albany for ten years. The vitality of Lutheranism was sorely tried by such neglect. For five years nothing is heard of the congregation; then they appeal to Amsterdam, but plead their inability to support a pastor. They must have help from abroad. The Amsterdam authorities insist that as they have been furnished already with two pastors they must bear the responsibility for the third. At last they are forced to pledge a salary; but even then they receive no aid. The relief they do not find in their fatherland comes from America itself. This brings us to the consideration of the second element of the Lutheran Church in this country during the seventeenth century—the Swedes on the Delaware.

[1] Gräbner, vol. i., p. 71.

CHAPTER III.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN SWEDEN.

THE history of the Reformation in Sweden presents a very striking contrast with that in either Germany, Holland, or England. The German Reformation was a popular movement, cherished and promoted from literary centers, advanced under the leadership and with the earnest coöperation of a considerable portion of the clergy, and protected by some of the most influential princes of the empire. It originated and proceeded without any preconceived plan, from the necessities and impulses of the Christian life. The results were far different and more extensive than those which were in the minds of the men who, from constraint of conscience, were compelled to speak and act. The Reformation in Holland differed from that in Germany by the uniform opposition, instead of the partial encouragement, received from those in authority. The English Reformation was only to a limited extent a popular movement. It proceeded almost entirely from the universities, and was retarded, instead of advanced, by the professed alliance of an unprincipled king, who checked its progress by his iron will, and turned the vantage-ground it had gained to account in advancing his personal interests against the papacy. Unlike these, the Swedish Reformation began with the king, who stopped short of nothing but the entire reformation in doctrine and worship of the church in his kingdom, and by his indomitable energy reached his end against the strong opposition

of the clergy. It had its political side, as the most effectual assertion and defense of Swedish independence against the claims of Denmark and the persevering machinations of a Danish party in Sweden, powerfully sustained by the Archbishop of Upsala, who came from a Danish family, and most of the other ecclesiastics. The deposition of the archbishop, the papal bann against Sweden, and the massacre of Stockholm, November 8, 1520, where two bishops, several state counselors, and other prominent persons who were supporters of Sweden's claims against Denmark were slain, and other murders, amounting in all to six hundred throughout the kingdom, led in 1523 to the election to the throne of Gustavus Vasa, the son of one of the murdered state counselors. During the reign of terror in Sweden, Gustavus, who had been imprisoned as a hostage in Denmark and had escaped, was residing in northern Germany, at Lübeck; and although even at Lübeck the Reformation did not enter until a later period, and Manfuss and Osenbrügge were in prison during his stay there, serving a portion of their sentence of three years, for having preached the evangelical doctrine, Gustavus learned to know what the Reformation meant and to sympathize with it in many of its principles and ends. When his efforts to secure the independence and welfare of his kingdom were met by the constant opposition and plots of the clergy, the crisis was precipitated. An ecclesiastical organization could no longer be maintained to direct its efforts against the state whence it derived support. A still higher motive probably prompted him as an individual; but this was all that as ruler he had to regard. He saw that mere restraint placed upon the clergy was not sufficient; a thorough reformation such as was proceeding in Germany would be required. The disloyalty of the Swedish clergy had its root in abuses which could

be remedied by no superficial remedy. They would not cease to be scheming politicians until they realized the nature of the work that belonged to them as spiritual guides. But even to this conviction Gustavus did not come suddenly.

Two sons of a Swedish blacksmith, Olaf and Lars Petri (Peterson), on the way from their native town, Oerebro, to the "House of St. Bridget," a Swedish hospice in Rome, to prepare for the priesthood, were diverted from their purpose while passing through Germany by the fame of the recently founded University of Wittenberg, and for several years became diligent scholars of Luther and Melanchthon. They received their master's degree at Wittenberg, and Olaf Petri accompanied Luther in a visitation to the Augustinian cloisters in Meissen and Thuringia. Returning home in 1519, their vessel was wrecked on the island of Gothland, and in the city of Visby Olaf successfully withstood the claims of a seller of indulgences. The next year Olaf became secretary to Bishop Matthias of Strengnäs, who was favorably inclined toward a reformation; and, as a canon and deacon in the cathedral, by his sermons and lectures on the Bible reproducing what he had heard at Wittenberg, excited much interest. Accompanying the bishop to Stockholm, both brothers narrowly escaped with their lives on that fatal November day in 1520, when the bishop was one of the victims. The administration of the diocese of Strengnäs fell, by the death of the bishop, into the hands of the already aged archdeacon Lawrence Andreæ (Anderson), a man of conceded natural gifts, extensive learning, wide travel, and remarkable eloquence. From Olaf Petri he learned fully what Luther was teaching, and became a most hearty advocate of the cause. So ignorant were the majority of the Swedish clergy of the real contents of Luther's doc-

trine, that it is related that so high an authority as the Bishop of Linköping actually regarded the movement as in the interests of the Greek Church, and not only advised that especial care should be taken in the appointment of bishops on the Russian frontier, but also, to guard against the danger, wrote a little book against that church.

At the Diet of Strengnäs, where Gustavus was elected king, Olaf Petri declared himself in a series of sermons an opponent of the Roman Church, especially attacking its abuses, and declaring that they were departures from the true doctrine of the Swedish Church, taught by its founder, Ansgar. This courageous attack did not pass unnoticed. Complaints were made to the king. Olaf Petri and Andreæ were summoned to his presence. He assured the latter confidentially of his sympathy with them, although for the present prudence dictated that it should not be known. He confirmed this by appointing Andreæ his chancellor, Olaf Petri chief preacher at Stockholm, and his brother Lawrence professor of theology at Upsala. As the diet which elected him king laid contributions for the support of the government upon certain revenues belonging to the churches and cloisters, when the king urged that they be collected he met resistance from several of the bishops. Knut, Archbishop of Upsala, and Sumanwäder, Bishop of Westeräs, after due legal process, were deposed on the charge of conspiring against the king. Fleeing to Norway, they were surrendered to the Swedish authorities, and, after regular judicial trial, executed for treason in February, 1527. John Magnus, a native of Sweden, and the pope's legate in that country, was appointed archbishop, and the appointment was confirmed by Pope Adrian. While the great caution of Gustavus was postponing the conflict until the proper time should come for his coronation, Olaf Petri was continuing with unabated

ardor to inveigh against the papacy and its doctrines, until the populace were excited by his violence to attack the church in which he preached. An Anabaptist outbreak under Melchior King and Knipperdolling gave the enemies of the Reformation an opportunity to lay its excesses to the charge of the Swedish Reformers. In a royal visitation made through all the provinces of his kingdom, in order to form the acquaintance of his people, Gustavus everywhere disarmed opposition and won their affection. He insisted that the dissatisfied clergy should faithfully perform their duties, while the two ardent Evangelical preachers were counseled to mildness and moderation. All abuse of Catholic bishops and the saints honored by the people was forbidden. Concessions were to be made on all matters not pertaining to the foundations of the faith. Good works were to be preached as the necessary consequences of faith. In church usages no arbitrary changes were to be made, particularly in those which constantly met the eyes of the people.

In 1524 Gustavus provided for a public disputation at Upsala, between Olaf Petri representing the Evangelical and Peter Galle representing the Scholastic theology. In the presence of the king, the state counselors, and a large audience, they discussed the questions of "justification," "the forgiveness of sins through papal indulgences," "the influence of the free will upon the confession of man," "the merit of good works," the "papal traditions," especially "masses for the dead," "the invocation of saints," "pilgrimages," "purgatory," "indulgences," "the Lord's Supper under one form," "celibacy of the clergy," and their "temporal power." Both were required to write out the grounds of their attacks and the answers.

In 1525 Olaf Petri administered the Lord's Supper in Swedish and married. The king received from the Bishop

of Lidköping a severe reprimand for his presence at the wedding. Shortly after, Archbishop Magnus informed him of his entire independence of the king, as he derived his confirmation in office from the pope. Making the visitations throughout his diocese, with a large retinue and a great display, he was summoned in 1526 to Stockholm, and informed that the office of a bishop consisted not in outward display, but in preaching the divine Word.

Meanwhile, the chancellor Andreæ had published in 1526 a translation of the New Testament, of great excellence, into Swedish, and the brothers Petri had begun the translation of the Old Testament, which was completed in 1541.

The archbishop in 1526 left Sweden for Rome, never to return. In spite of the determined opposition of the Bishop of Lidköping, the Diet of Westeräs in 1527 established the Lutheran faith in Sweden. It subjected the power of the bishops entirely to that of the king. It expressly decided that the king can depose unfit priests from their congregations, and appoint more suitable ones in their places, especially when the bishops do not attend to their duty; that he should have full power to rule the churches and cloisters and to provide for their necessary support.[1] The Roman Catholic religion was not suppressed; some features of its government and rites still remained; but their early complete abandonment was rendered certain. The pope's authority was over, even though among the bishops and in all the estates he still had ardent supporters. All this had been accomplished without violence, constrained solely by the ultimatum of the king, that unless this were done he would lay down his office.

This was followed by the "Church Assembly of the Swedish Clergy" at Oerebro in 1529, in which Lawrence

[1] Schröckh, vol. ii., p. 42

Andreæ, Archdeacon of Upsala, presiding over the vacant archbishopric as the representative of the king, the bishops of Skara, Strengnäs, and Westeräs, preachers from all the dioceses, and even monks, united in an obligation to preach the pure Word of God, and to give instruction in the cathedral schools, together with other regulations looking to a reform of abuses.

The same year Olaf Petri published a "Handbook for Divine Service," comprising orders for baptism, the Lord's Supper, marriage, burial. By the king's direction, indifferent matters, such as the use of salt and the exorcism in baptism, were retained, in order that the people who were accustomed to them might not be unnecessarily offended. If extreme unction be requested, the sick person is to be instructed that it is unnecessary, since the anointing with the Holy Ghost through the forgiveness of sins is sufficient. But if he still persist, he is to be warned that it is no sacrament. The Lord's Supper is to be preceded by a public confession, which the congregation should repeat after the pastor. In order not to give offense he should take the hosts, and then the cup, in his hands while repeating the words of institution, but, lest this should be misinterpreted, he should place them again to the side.[1]

Lawrence Petri in 1531 was elected the first Evangelical archbishop, at an assembly of the bishops and chief clergy of Sweden. He surpassed his elder brother, Olaf, in mildness and learning, whom, without being so prominent, he most frequently led. He is said in his career as a professor to have combined the traits of his two great teachers, Luther and Melanchthon, and by the qualities of his style as a writer to have earned the designation of "the Swedish Cicero." When he became archbishop he

[1] Schröckh, *ibid.*, p. 49.

was only thirty-two years of age, and continued in the office for forty years.

For ten years Gustavus had postponed the election of an archbishop. He soon gave clear proof of the fact that he considered himself charged with a responsibility for the Church of Sweden above that committed to the bishops. In 1539 Olaf Petri came into trouble by personally attacking the king in a sermon, afterward printed, for setting his people a bad example in the use of language which the faithful but indiscreet preacher regarded profane. The consequence was that the archbishop was directed to see to it that no reform should be attempted without the king's command, and nothing printed without the king's approval. This asserted emphatically the claims of the king as *summus episcopus*. But a still greater conflict came when, the next year, both Olaf and the chancellor, Lawrence Andreæ, were tried for not having divulged a plot against the king's life, which they had learned in the confessional, and both were condemned to death, but were finally pardoned, under humiliating conditions which impoverished them for life.

George Normann, a Wittenberg master of arts, whom Luther had recommended in 1539 as "a man of holy life, modest, sincere, and learned, and in every way qualified and worthy of being tutor to the king's son," was appointed superintendent of all the clergy—including the bishops—of the kingdom. Under him religious counselors (*conservatores religionis*) were appointed, who accompanied him in his visitation of churches, and examined and, with the royal approval, removed and appointed pastors. An ecclesiastical assembly of state counselors and bishops in 1540 decided that Roman ceremonies heretofore allowed should be entirely abolished, and others of an evangelical character be substituted, and that care should

be henceforth taken that the doctrines of the gospel be taught in their purity. The Reformation, however, did not thoroughly penetrate the people during the reign of Gustavus; their prejudices were in favor of the old usages; and there were frequent serious indications of discontent, of which the rebellion of Nils Dacke in Småland in 1542, with its avowed purpose as the reëstablishment of Christianity and the abolition of the Swedish mass, was the most formidable.

Gustavus dying in 1560, a reaction came under his second son, John III. (1568–92), who, influenced by his queen, sought the restoration of Roman Catholicism in a modified form; and the archbishop yielded in so far as to undertake in 1571 a revision of the "Church Order," with the insertion of statements of the same character that, for the sake of peace, Melanchthon had approved in the Leipzig Interim of 1548. His successor of the same name, but distinguished from him only by the surname "Gothus" (1573), threw all his energy into the Catholicizing movement. Jesuit influence was active. They saw to it that the schools were provided with their teachers, and that Catholic literature was disseminated. Two seminaries were established at Rome for the instruction of Swedish youth. The catechism of Canisius was widely introduced. A new liturgy was prepared by the king and his secretary, Fecht, in 1576, almost entirely excluding all Lutheran elements. Negotiations were in progress between the pope and the king for submission of the kingdom to the authority of the former.

But the movement had gone too far. The pope was too exacting in his demands; the zeal of the king was chilled; his popish wife died; the Swedish lady who succeeded her in 1583 was of another mind; the Jesuits were expelled; the Romanism of the later years of John

was confined to the liturgy on whose use he still laid great stress. The conflict had been necessary in order to bring the latent Lutheranism of the kingdom to a decision. It had now more thoroughly pervaded the people, because of the very efforts to force them in another direction, and the humiliating conditions urged by the papacy and its advocates.

When, on the death of John (1592), his Catholic son, Sigismund of Poland, was about to succeed to the throne, there was a general demand that this should occur only with the provision that the rights of Protestantism should be guaranteed in the most unmistakable way. Charles, the brother of John and youngest son of Gustavus, during all these occurrences had kept one district of Sweden faithful to his father's principles, and had provided there a refuge for those who had been forced, for their fidelity to their evangelical convictions, to leave the territory over which the king had more absolute control. As regent, convening an ecclesiastical council at Upsala, by its decree of March 20, 1593, the Swedish Reformation was firmly established, and, by a clear confessional basis, assumed a more definite and permanent form than under Gustavus.

The Decree of Upsala affirms that the Holy Scriptures declare completely everything belonging to Christian doctrine; that no explanations of the fathers not in harmony therewith are to be admitted; that no man shall be allowed to explain the Holy Scriptures according to his own mind; that the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian creeds and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession are the symbols of the Swedish Church; that the liturgy of King John, "in doctrine, ceremonies, and discipline," is unanimously disapproved and repudiated, and that a return be made to the liturgy of 1572, except that the effort be made to gradually abolish certain of its ceremonies, as "the use of salt, candles, the elevation of the host," etc.; that all

"popish doctrines," Zwinglianism, Calvinism, and Anabaptism are condemned; that church discipline be more faithfully maintained; and that public meetings of those holding heretical doctrines should not be allowed.[1]

Although the young king, feeling that he could not do otherwise, conceded all these claims, and under these conditions secured his throne, the people resented the first indications of efforts on his part to gain for Catholicism what had been lost, with the result that, after long-continued warning and remonstrance, he was deposed by a diet in the year 1602, and two years later his uncle became Charles IX., and as king, in 1607, confirmed the Decree of Upsala. He was succeeded in 1611 by his son, Gustavus Adolphus, one of the grandest and noblest characters in history, who laid down his life on the field of Lützen in 1632, to live forever in the grateful memory of succeeding generations, as, under God, the deliverer of Lutheran Protestantism in the hour of its greatest peril. During the minority of his daughter, Christina, the country was ably administered by the great statesman Oxenstiern; and under the rule of Christina, from 1644, continued to flourish, until by the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, a large addition of territory, including most of Pomerania, was acquired from Germany. Throughout the seventeenth century Sweden was one of the greatest powers in Europe, and it has been well said that "during this period no decision was arrived at by any European state without reference to her wishes." This is the period of the founding of the Swedish colony on the banks of the Delaware.

The confessional position taken by the Decree of Upsala, pledging the Swedish Church to the three œcumenical

[1] See English translation by Professor Petri, in "Book of Concord" (Jacobs, Philadelphia, 1883), vol. ii., pp. 304–307.

creeds and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, was supplemented in 1686 so as to read:

> In our kingdom and in the lands belonging thereto, all shall confess only and alone the Christian doctrine and faith, which is founded upon the Prophetical and Apostolical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and is comprised in the three chief symbols, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as well as in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, composed in the year 1530, received in 1593 in the Council of Upsala, and explained in the entire so-called "Book of Concord." All those who enter into office as teachers in churches, academies, gymnasiums, or schools shall at their ordination, or when they receive a degree, be bound by an oath to this doctrine and this confession of faith.[1]

This was simply a more formal statement of what had been provided already in a decree of August 14, 1663.[2] This is of importance as determining the confessional position of those who labored under the Swedish Church in America during that period. It is interesting to note, in view of more recent relations, that in 1809 it was decided that the king, as *summus episcopus*, should be obligated only to the three œcumenical creeds and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that, in 1829, the ministerial oath was made to correspond with that of the king; but that these provisions were not intended to render the doctrinal basis of the Swedish Church different from that of 1686, which still remains in force.

The Swedish Church is distinguished for its thoroughly organized form of church government. This has originated not in any scheme devised in the Reformation period, but by the free development of its life according to necessities. To adequately appreciate it would require the previous study of the distinctive characteristics of its pre-Reformation organization. The Reformers were content to avail

[1] Stahelin, in Herzog-Plitt, vol. xiii., p. 741; Wigger, vol. ii., p. 397.
[2] Knös, p. 72.

themselves of the old forms just as they were, except where these forms antagonized the chief end of the Reformation, or, in course of time, were found insufficient for the new life. The gradual development of the organization is the product of the various historical factors that have entered into the religious life of Sweden during the whole period. It clearly shows both the centralizing tendency, as the claims of the king as the chief ruler of the church are advocated, and the decentralizing tendency, as the dioceses have at times been governed by regulations of their own. The common conflict against the reintroduction of Roman Catholicism and the introduction of modified Calvinism have contributed toward the unifying process. Nor have German rationalism and French freethinking been without their influence in the development of views, in a later period, that have been felt also in the sphere of church government.

The Swedish Church has been led by its practical necessities, and uninfluenced by any devotion to particular theories of church government, to a remarkable combination of elements belonging to all the various theories. It is at once congregational, presbyterian, and episcopalian. Rooted in pre-Reformation, and, as has been thought, even in pre-Christian usage,[1] are the regulations by which each parish provides the administration of its temporal affairs—the assembly of voting members, under presidency of the pastor, at least twice a year, and the representation in this assembly according to the assessed valuation of the real estate. This parish assembly has nothing to do with the teaching or worship or discipline; but elects the various officers and boards, builds the edifices needed for church purposes, appropriates moneys, audits accounts, provides salaries, and otherwise contributes to the general order and morality of

[1] See Knös, p. 17.

the parish. The common, but not the universal, practice is that it elects, as a pastor, one out of three candidates proposed by the consistory.

In order to guard against an excessive centralization of power, there are in each parish several administrative boards. Of these, the most important is the church council. For nearly a century after the Reformation this institution was unknown. It originated, not in any assertion of rights on the part of the laity, but in provisions for lay participation in disciplinary cases suggested by the clergy themselves, which, after making gradual progress, was legally sanctioned in 1650 and 1675. First, the expedient was adopted of calling in the aid of two or three prominent lay members in particular cases, the "church council," as such, being a permanent institution in one diocese after another, "in the diocese of Abo already in 1673, and in other places, as in the diocese of Westeräs, according to a few traces, still earlier."[1] It consists of at least four, and at most eight, members, chosen by the parish, with the pastor as chairman, who are the pastor's advisers and assistants in all disciplinary cases where his private efforts are unsuccessful. Where the church council is unsuccessful, cases are carried up to the consistory. They ordinarily remain in office until death, or disablement by age or disease.

Another board, of pre-Reformation origin, aids the pastor in the care of the church building, the revenues of the church, etc.[2] The care of the schools is intrusted to a third board, of officer selected by the parish; while, within the last half-century, the care of the poor is allotted to a fourth, composed of the pastor and two members chosen biennially, and in which there is a manifest commingling of civil and ecclesiastical duties.

[1] Knös, p. 21. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 22 sq.

There evidently has been a diversity of opinion as to the theory of the relation of the church to the state, viz., as to whether the king bear the relation only of chief protector and defender of the church, or whether he be actually its *summus episcopus;* for it must be remembered that the Archbishop of Upsala has no jurisdiction over the rest, but is simply the consecrator and the one having precedency in rank. The church law of 1686 expressly says: "The oversight, care, and protection of the church and congregation of God in Sweden are intrusted by God to the king." But this power is limited, not only by the pledge to the confession, made in his oath; all matters pertaining to the essentials of worship, church controversies, and church discipline are beyond his sphere, except as his oath compels him to guard the exercise of the religion guaranteed in this pledge. The *Reichstag*, convening at least every three years, in connection with the king decides on the most important church questions as prescribed in the church law. In it there are representatives of the four estates—nobility, clergy, citizens, and peasants—the archbishop, all the bishops, the chief pastor at Stockholm, and elected pastors being included. In the administration of the church, all changes in the boundaries of parishes must be sanctioned by the king, who also appoints all bishops and pastors, choosing one of the three who are elected as candidates by the authorized voters, exceptions to this rule prevailing only in a few privileged parishes. The king has the full oversight of the congregations, and exercises it partly through his "minister of worship," and partly through the bishops and the consistories.

The church in Sweden has no other general representation than that of the state; and, accordingly, the representatives of the people officiate not only as representatives of the state, but also as the representatives or general synod

of the church. The idea of a state church, or the close union of church and state, is realized there almost to an extreme, nevertheless not without especial balances of power, for the maintenance of church freedom.[1]

Among these is the provision made for the separate sessions and organization of the clerical members of the *Reichstag* for deliberations on certain questions of worship, discipline, etc., while on other questions all four estates participate. Another is that of diocesan consistories, whose decision in certain cases is necessary before they can come under cognizance of the king.

Every diocese is regarded as a coördinate part of the state church, the whole being subordinate only to the king. Seven of these dioceses existed before the Reformation; five new dioceses were created in the seventeenth century. Repudiating altogether the idea of the ministry as a priesthood, the consecration of a bishop is regarded as conveying no higher gifts than those belonging to every true preacher of the Word. In former times, by a special royal dispensation, but which was very rarely granted, ordinations were administered in an episcopal vacancy by a provost;[2] the rule, however, of exclusive ordination by bishops is now strictly enforced. The bishop has oversight of the preaching, the worship, the church discipline, the instruction of the young; personally or through a delegate, he makes visitations to the parishes of his diocese, convokes and holds diocesan synods, and gives warnings and admonitions. During a long period after the Reformation the preparation of candidates for the ministry was one of the most engrossing and important duties of the bishops. Of this they have been relieved by the universities. The bishop presides in the consistory, where, as everything is decided by a majority vote, he influences the resolutions only by the weight of his character and of the learning

[1] Knös, p. 70. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 94.

that he brings to the discussion of important questions. "The Swedish bishops are, therefore," says a professor of Upsala, "to be compared rather with the general superintendents of Germany than with the bishops of the Catholic or Anglican churches. The bishops of the four dioceses last founded were called, until 1772, 'superintendents,' although they possessed all the episcopal rights."[1] The dioceses are divided into districts, under the care of "provosts," corresponding to the "superintendents" of Germany, and who act as the executive administrators under the bishops and consistories.

Although no stress is placed upon the so-called "apostolical succession" of bishops, nevertheless it may be well to state the grounds upon which the Swedish Church could avail itself of this theory among those to whom this is of more importance than her Lutheran character. Peter Magnusson was, May 1, 1524, consecrated Bishop of Westerås at Rome by a cardinal bishop. In the year 1528 Bishop Peter Magnusson consecrated at Strengnäs, Magnus Haraldson of Skara, Magnus Sommar of Strengnäs, and Martinus Skytte of Abo. It is true that he protested against consecrating them, on the ground that their election had not been confirmed by the pope. But the act was no less duly and officially performed. Afterward (Sunday before Michaelmas, 1531), the same bishop, with Bishop Sommar, consecrated Laurentius Petri, the first Lutheran archbishop of Upsala. Whether this "succession thus secured," which "the Swedish Church was exceedingly fortunate in keeping up," "by means of her great archbishops and bishops through all the transitions of reform which were fully settled at the great council at Upsala in 1593,"[2] has been invalidated by the "intention"

[1] Knös, p. 95.

[2] "American Church Review," July, 1882, p. 227. Compare vol. xxxvi.,

of Bishop Magnusson or by the pledge made by Swedish Lutheran bishops and other clergy to the Lutheran confessions, in which the divine authority of the superiority of bishops is rejected, may be left to others to decide. The Lutheran Church cares little for such recognition, unless the purity of the faith which she teaches be acknowledged, and the marks of the church be found in the agreement of the doctrine with the Word of God, and the right administration of the sacraments, rather than in the "endless genealogies" of purely external relations.

In the Swedish, as in other Lutheran churches, confirmation was long in disuse, and was introduced gradually, only since the middle of the last century.[1] It is interesting to note that it is not called, in the Swedish liturgy, "confirmation," but that the chapter treating of it has the title: "What is to be done when the youth come, for the first time, to the Lord's Supper?" The order consists in the examination in the catechism, the confession of faith, the promise of fidelity, the Lord's Prayer, and the patriarchal benediction pronounced by the pastor over the kneeling children.[2] In later editions,[3] the pastor lays his hand upon the head of each, with the prayer: "The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ give thee strength," etc.

same "Review," p. 1, for argument of Dr. Nicholson, English Consular Chaplain at Gothenburg. See also Professor Knös, of Upsala, in Appendix to the English translation of Anjou's "History of the Reformation in Sweden" (New York, 1859), pp. 634 sqq.

[1] Knös, p. 24. [2] Order of 1809, 1839.

[3] 1854, 1861.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LUTHERANS OF NEW SWEDEN (1637–1700).

In its origin the Swedish is closely connected with the Dutch colonization of America. The enterprise of Dutch traders made repeated efforts to compete with the regularly established channels of Dutch intercourse with America, under the patronage and auspices of the Swedish government. The Dutch West India Company of 1621 was followed, accordingly, in 1626, by the formation of a Swedish company for similar purposes. It was the result of the negotiations undertaken at the court of Gustavus Adolphus by William Usselinx, a native of Antwerp. The royal family and the bishops were among its stockholders. The plan was interrupted by the necessities of Protestant Germany and the death of the king, and seemed to have been entirely abandoned until Peter Minuit, after being dismissed from his position as director-general of the colony in New Netherlands, appeared at the Swedish court, and succeeded in reviving the interest. The English, in 1634, relinquished, in favor of the Swedes, their claims upon the region to be occupied. In August, 1637, two vessels, the "Key of Calmar" and the "Bird Griffin," set sail from Göteborg in Sweden, with the first colony. They commemorated their joy by naming the place where they landed, after a six months' voyage, "Paradise Point." Their lands were purchased in due form from the Indians, and regular deeds for their possession were given, and sent to Sweden. Fort

Christina was immediately built, where Wilmington, Del., now stands, under whose protection the first settlement was made.

Heretofore it has been stated, upon the authority of the Swedish provost, Acrelius, that Rev. Reorus Torkillus came with this first colony; but the most recent Swedish authority, Norberg,[1] says that he accompanied the second expedition in 1639. He has the distinction of being the first Lutheran minister in North America. He was a native of Fässberg, thirty years old, had studied at Lidköping, had been settled for several years at Skara, and, when called to America, was teacher in the schools and chaplain at Göteborg.[2] Public service was begun in Fort Christina, which seemed necessary, because the Indians were not to be trusted. It is probable that, under Torkillus, the first church was built. Of these early churches Pastor Rudman afterward gave a graphic description: "After a suitable elevation, like any other house, a projection was made, some courses higher, out of which they could shoot, so that if the heathen fell upon them, which could not be done without their coming up to the house, then the Swedes could shoot down upon them continually, and the heathen, who used only bows and arrows, could do them little or no injury."[3] This evidently refers to the conversion of the block-house into a church. Pastor Torkillus died in Christina, September 7, 1643, after a summer of great sickness and mortality in the colony, and is buried under the southern end of the Old Swedes' Church at Wilmington.[4]

The year of the death of Torkillus marked a great advance in the strength and organization of the colony. New life was infused into it by the formal appointment of John

1 Page 3. 2 *Ibid.*
3 Acrelius, English translation, p. 176; Norberg, p. 3.
4 Gräbner, p. 15.

Printz as governor of New Sweden, the large accession of immigrants he brought with him, and the regulations which he was instructed to enforce. Two of these regulations, signed by Oxenstiern and the other members of the Swedish "Council of State," are of especial importance to the religious interests of the colony. The first concerns the Indians, and undoubtedly gave the impulse to the missionary work that soon followed. It is as follows:

> The wild nations, bordering upon all other sides, the Governor shall understand how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no violence or wrong be done to them by Her Royal Majesty or her subjects aforesaid; but he shall rather, at every opportunity, exert himself that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the truths and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways brought to civilization and good government, and, in this manner, properly guided. Especially shall he seek to gain their confidence, and impress upon their minds that neither he, the Governor, nor his people and subordinates, have come into those parts to do them any wrong or injury, but much more for the purpose of furnishing them with such things as they may need for the ordinary wants of life.

The other instruction has reference to the spiritual care of the colonists:

> Above all things, shall the Governor consider and see to it that a true and due worship, becoming honor, laud, and praise be paid to the Most High God in all things, and, to that end, all proper care shall be taken that divine service be zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsala, and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church; and all persons, but especially the young, shall be duly instructed in the articles of their Christian faith; and all good church discipline shall in like manner be duly exercised and received. But so far as relates to Holland colonists that live and settle under the government of Her Royal Majesty and the Swedish Crown, the Governor shall not disturb them in the indulgence granted them as to the exercise of the Reformed religion according to the aforesaid Royal Charter.[1]

With Governor Printz there landed at Fort Christina, February 15, 1643, the Rev. John Campanius, who is men-

[1] Acrelius, pp. 35–39.

tioned by Bishop Svedberg as "a man most highly to be praised on account of his unwearied zeal in always propagating the love of God." He was a native of Stockholm, and was nearly forty-two years of age. His chief station was at Tinicum (Delaware County), at that time the governor's residence, about nine miles southwest of Philadelphia. Here he built a frame church which was consecrated September 4, 1646, and which for about half a century continued to be used for divine worship. He returned to Sweden in 1648, leaving this country in May, and dying in his native land September 17, 1683. It is recorded of him that he not only conducted public worship on the Sundays and festival days, but that twice a week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, he preached, and on all week-days held morning and evening services. Where the pastor could not attend, the services were led by readers, appointed by the governor.[1] He learned the language of the neighboring Delaware Indians, in order that he could do missionary work among them, and translated Luther's Small Catechism for them. The publication of the translation was delayed, however, until 1696, when it was undertaken at the personal expense of Charles XI., and large numbers were sent to America. The translation, although not the publication, of the catechism antedates that of Eliot's Indian Bible. Eliot's New Testament appeared in 1661, and the Old Testament three years later. The book of Campanius[2] has an introduction of fourteen pages. The translation, which is often a paraphrase, accompanied by explanatory questions and answers, is followed by a Swedish version, paragraph by paragraph. At the close there is a

[1] Gräbner, p. 16.

[2] Lutheri Catechismus, "Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket." Stockholm, Tryckt vthi thet af Kongl. Mayᵗᵗ privelig. Burchardi Tryckeri, af J. J. Genath/f. Anno MDCXCVI., p. 160.

vocabulary of the Delaware language (*Vocabularium Barbaro-virgineorum*) of twenty-eight pages.

The grandson of Campanius published, in 1702, an interesting account of his grandfather's experiences in America.[1]

> The Indians were frequent visitors at my grandfather's house. When, for the first time, he performed divine service in the Swedish congregation, they came to hear him, and greatly wondered that he had so much to say, and that he stood alone, and talked so long, while all the rest were listening in silence. This excited in them strange suspicions; they thought everything was not right, and that some conspiracy was going forward amongst us; in consequence of which my grandfather's life and that of the other priests were, for some time, in considerable danger from the Indians who daily came to him and asked him many questions.

An explanation was then given of the chief doctrines of Christianity. The narrative continues:

> They had great pleasure in hearing these things, at which they greatly wondered, and began to think quite differently from what they had done before; so that he gained their affection, and they visited him and sent to him very frequently. They induced him to exert himself to learn their language, so as to be able to translate for them what they wanted very much, to instruct them in the Christian doctrine; and he was so successful, that those people who were wandering in darkness were able to see the light. He translated for them the catechism into their language, and he succeeded so far that many of those barbarians were converted to the Christian faith, or, at least, acquired so much knowledge of it that they were ready to exclaim, as Captain John Smith relates of the Virginia Indians, that, so far as the cannons and guns of the Christians exceeded the bows and arrows of the Indians in shooting, so far was their God superior to that of the Indians.

Rev. Israel Holgh had, in 1644, made a stay of only three months.[2]

Before Campanius had left, Rev. Lars Lock had come from Sweden in 1647, and, succeeding Campanius, served the churches at Tinicum and Christina for twenty-two years.

[1] We know it only from the translation: "Description of the Province of New Sweden," by Thomas Campanius Holm. Translated from the Swedish by Peter S. Du Ponceau, LL.D. Philadelphia, 1839.

[2] Gräbner, p. 17.

It scarcely belongs to our province to enter into the details of his matrimonial unhappiness, and the miseries in which it involved him. They have been preserved in contemporary records and public documents, and perpetuate the gossip of those days, with a fullness for which we long in regard to more important and edifying subjects. At his death in 1688 he had been disabled from service for a number of years.

Rev. Matthias Nertunius made two attempts to reach New Sweden. In 1649 his ship was stranded near Porto Rico, and afterward fell into the hands of the Spaniards. His second attempt, in 1654, was more successful. But with his clerical companion, Rev. Peter Hjort, he returned home the next year after the capitulation to the Dutch. The mission of both these men was a total disappointment. Hjort had been pastor at Fort Trinity (New Castle) and Nertunius at Upland (Chester). Under date of July 13, 1654, Governor Rising gives a discouraging account of the clergy of New Sweden, and says that of the three, Nertunius, Lock, and Hjort, the first was by far the best.[1]

Governor Printz having returned to Sweden in 1652, there was an interval of two years, during which the colony was administered by his son-in-law, the Vice-Governor Papegoija. Then came, in 1654, Governor Rising, whose energy was proved by his immediate attack upon Fort Casimir, which the Dutch, extending their territory from the New Netherlands, had erected upon Swedish soil. As the Swedes captured it upon Trinity Sunday, they called it "Fort of the Holy Trinity."[2] The Dutch retaliated the next year. Fort Trinity was retaken, and a few days after Fort Christina fell. New Sweden became subject to the rule of Governor Stuyvesant in September, 1655, one of the terms of the capitulation being: "Those who choose

[1] Nyberg, p. 6. [2] Acrelius, p. 63.

to remain shall have the liberty of adhering to their own Augsburg Confession, as also of supporting a minister for their instruction." In this expedition, Stuyvesant had been accompanied by his pastor, Megapolensis, who preached a thanksgiving sermon at the taking of Fort Trinity, but was dissatisfied with the terms of the capitulation that permitted the continuance of Lutheran preaching.

During the Dutch rule over New Sweden, a young man by the name of Abelius Selskoorn, or Zetskoorn, "a student," according to Acrelius, who had been for a while in New Amsterdam, was called in to aid Lock in his work, having received from Governor Stuyvesant "a recommendation to the vestry of the Augsburg Confession to ordain him to the ministerial office, and also to promise him like support with Dominie Lars."[1] The limit of the Dutch rule was the surrender of New Netherlands to the English in 1664.

The connection of the former pastor of the Dutch Church in New Amsterdam, Jacob Fabritius, with the Swedes began in 1671, when he served the church at Tranhook (Wilmington). Afterward (1672) we find a petition presented to the authorities at New Amsterdam to divide the Swedes into two parishes under Lock and Fabritius. Part of the winter of 1673–74 he spent in New Amsterdam, and was subjected to a sentence by the restored Dutch rule under Colve. In 1677 he became pastor at Wicaco, now in the southern part of Philadelphia, converting an old block-house, built in 1669, into a church, and holding service there, and, on alternate Sundays, at Tinicum. In this first church at Wicaco, where Gloria Dei Church now stands, the first service was held on Trinity Sunday, June 9th. Five years later Fabritius became blind, but continued to

[1] Acrelius, p. 101.

serve the congregations, as best he could, until his death in 1693 or shortly later. As the infirmities of age increased, his duties were made heavier, first by the disablement, and then by the death, of Lock. These two aged pastors lived, the former in Kensington, and the latter in Chester. It is a sad picture afforded us by certain documents, which testify to the love and esteem in which Fabritius was held, but describe the sad state of the congregations which his infirmities enabled him to serve only with great difficulty and inefficiency. A lay reader, Andrew Bengston, was able, however, to supply some of the wants, by reading to the congregation at Tinicum from Möller's "Postils," while Charles Christopher Springer performed a similar service at Wilmington. But only the most faithful attended. Especially upon the younger generation was the church losing its hold.

It is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. The bond that had united the colony with the mother-country had been entirely severed. Swedish immigration had long since ceased. The thought of the perpetuation of the ministry from their own churches had not occurred. At the same time, as the Swedish was still the prevalent language, they could be served only by the Dutch, which is readily understood because of the affinity between the two languages; and the Dutch were incapable of properly providing even for their own churches in the New Netherlands.

Letters were written, but received no answer. The Lutheran Consistory at Amsterdam was appealed to either to send a pastor from Holland, or to enlist interest in Sweden; but in vain. It is God's plan often to lead his people to the very verge of despair before interposing his deliverance; and so it was here. A great revival of interest in the Swedish churches in America on the part of the church at home, as well as of religious life in these churches them-

selves, was just at hand. But how wonderful the means by which it was accomplished!

A young man, Andrew Printz, a nephew of the first governor, traveled, without any very definite end in view, to America, and in 1690 visited the settlements of his countrymen. On his return to Sweden, in conversing with the postmaster at Gothenburg, John Thelin, he mentioned the sad condition in which he found the churches. Thelin was much moved by what he heard, and made an appeal to King Charles XI. (reigned 1660–97) in their behalf. Encouraged by the disposition of the king, after the exact facts were known, to be of assistance, Thelin wrote a long letter of inquiry, which he dispatched to America by two routes. In it he assures them of the king's readiness to furnish them not only with ministers, but "with all sorts of religious books in both languages, Swedish and Finnish," and that they may be especially encouraged because of the friendship between the kings of Sweden and of England. Reference is also made to an offer, made years before by William Penn to the Swedish envoy in London, to have ministers and books forwarded them.

This letter of Thelin was answered by a very intelligent man, before mentioned, Charles Springer, who, after a thorough education, while an *attaché* of the Swedish minister in England, had been abducted and carried off as a servant to America, and, after liberation, had found a home with those of his own nationality on the Delaware. Mr. Springer writes (May 31, 1693):

> We beg that there may be sent to us two Swedish ministers, who are well learned and well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and who may well defend both themselves and us against all the false teachers and strange sects, by whom we are surrounded, or who may oppose us on account of our true, pure, uncorrupted service to God and the Lutheran religion, which we shall now confess before God and all the world, so that, if it should so happen—which, however, may God avert—we are ready to seal this with our own

blood. We beg also that these ministers may be such as live a sedate and sober life, so that we and our children, led by the example of their godly conversation, may also lead lives godly and well pleasing to God. It is also our humble request that we may have sent to us twelve Bibles, three copies of Sermons, forty-two Manuals, one hundred Handbooks and Spiritual Meditations, two hundred Catechisms, etc. God grant that we may obtain faithful pastors and watchmen for our souls, who may also feed us with that spiritual food, which is the preaching of God's Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments in their proper form.

The letter gives an interesting account of the state of the settlement, the fertility of the land, the prosperity of the people, the kindness shown them both by the Dutch and the English, their affection for Sweden, etc. It closes with the acknowledgment of the divine goodness in bringing their affairs to the attention of the king, and prays that the work thus begun may be completed:

"For we do not believe that God will forsake us, although we are in a strange and heathen land, far away from our own dear fatherland."[1]

A postscript asks as a special favor that volumes of sermons on both the Gospels and Epistles be sent to Captain Lasse Cock, "for which he will pay." A roll is added giving a list of 188 Swedish families, including 942 persons in the settlement.

Immediate action on the part of the king was delayed by various circumstances, especially by the death of the queen. But the matter was not neglected. The king consulted a man whose name is among the most prominent in Swedish Church history, Dr. Jasper Svedberg, at that time provost of the cathedral and professor of theology at Upsala, and afterward (1702–35) Bishop of Skara. Dr. Svedberg recalled a conversation which he had once had with Dr. Edzardi of Hamburg, who was interested in missions to the Jews, concerning a large amount of property held

[1] Correspondence in Acrelius, pp. 186–189.

by the Swedish crown, which was given it in trust to be applied to efforts for the conversion of the heathen, but which had been diverted to the use of the nobility. Dr. Svedberg advised that these funds should be devoted to missions to the heathen through the Swedes in America, and "to see to it that the children of Sweden do not become heathen as they dwell among us."

The matter was, therefore, formally intrusted to the archbishop (Swebilius), by whom it was laid before the consistory. But Dr. Svedberg was the most active in the selection and preparation of the candidates. He named, from his students, two—Andrew Rudman, who was just completing his course of study for the degree of Ph.D., and Eric Björk, an inmate of Dr. Svedberg's own house, as the tutor of his nephews. The forethought of the king added a third, Jonas Auren, who was to make surveys and return soon with them, but whom it was thought well to ordain for the performance of such ministerial acts as might be serviceable among those with whom he was to sojourn. The translation of the catechism made by Campanius was brought out from where it had lain for nearly half a century in neglect; and five hundred copies were printed and sent with the other books, all of which were stamped with the king's name in gilt letters. The king several times called the three pastors before him in his own private rooms, and conferred with them on their mission.

Rudman and Björk sailed on August 4, 1696, for London, where Auren afterward joined them. There lies before us a mute sharer and witness of that voyage, in a copy of the second volume of Brochmand's "Systema Universæ Theologiæ," presented to Björk as a parting gift. It has a beautifully written inscription: "Reverendo et doctissimo domino, Erico Tobiä Biörck, amico omnium certissimo, Erici die Anni 1696, in sui memoriam, et sinceri ani-

mi pignus, librum hunc, non tam ex pretio quam animo dantis affirmandum, cum promissione Tomi prioris, si quando contigerit compotem fieri ejus, offert et dat Joh. Sla., Upsala, ut supra." It is interesting to turn over the pages of this Lutheran dogmatician, and to study the questions that afterward occupied Björk's mind during his isolation in America, and the marginal notes which we can readily think were made by his hand. The commission of these pastors, still preserved in the archives of Gloria Dei Church, obligated them "to teach, without any human addition or side doctrine, God's holy and saving Word purely and clearly, as it is fully presented in the Canonical Books of the prophets in the Old and of the apostles in the New Testament, and briefly explained in the œcumenical symbols of the Christian Church, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, as well as especially in the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books received by the Evangelical Church." [1]

Spending four months in London, after some stay in Virginia and Maryland they reached their destination in June, being formally received in the church at Wicaco June 30th, and at Tranhook (Wilmington) July 8th. Rudman became pastor at the former and Björk at the latter place. Soon it became necessary to make ampler arrangements for their congregations. May 28, 1698, the corner-stone of the "Church of the Holy Trinity" at Wilmington, which is still standing, and is better known as "Old Swedes' Church," was laid, and on July 4, 1699, the church was consecrated. Auren read the lessons, Rudman preached the sermon from Psalm cxxvi. 3, the pastor, Björk, and Rudman performed the act of consecration, and then followed several baptisms and the regular Lord's Day service with communion, Auren preaching on the gospel for the

[1] Gräbner, p. 79.

day. The church cost eight hundred pounds, of which the pastor contributed one hundred and thirty-five.

Meanwhile the Wicaco congregation, under Rudman, was so much distracted by a diversity of opinion concerning where the new church was to be built, that Rudman actually threatened to lay down his office unless they would speedily agree. Björk was called in as an arbiter. A sermon he preached from the gospel for the tenth Sunday after Trinity on "The Tears of Christ" subdued all hearts, and they gave a written pledge that the matter would be left to the absolute decision of the ministers, and that all would cheerfully acquiesce in the result, whatever it might be. All were, therefore, satisfied when they determined to build in the immediate neighborhood of the old church, one of the reasons being that "the Swedes would ever be held in remembrance, as their church thus stood in view of vessels as they sailed upon the river." On the first Sunday after Trinity, 1700 (July 2d), it was consecrated as Gloria Dei Church, Björk preaching the sermon from 2 Samuel vii. 29. This old church, well preserved, amply repays a visit from all interested in the history of the Lutheran Church in America. The men who built it were faithful Lutherans; the names upon the older tombstones around it are those of Lutherans; the pastors who preached there and were laid to rest under its shadow taught no other faith than that of the Augsburg Confession. While the congregation is worshiping in another language and according to another faith, the mind of the Lutheran who goes thither will inevitably realize the communion of saints that he has in common with Rudman and Björk, and Sandel and Acrelius and Von Wrangel, who so earnestly preached within those walls, as well as with Falckner, who there received the first Lutheran ordination in America, and with Muhlenberg, who, a generation afterward, among

his first ministerial acts in this country, entered its pulpit. All its historical associations are those of the Lutheran Church; and no other communion can enter into the fellowship of these associations except as, in addition to its mere possession of a legal title to the ground and building, such as the Turks have to Jerusalem, it acknowledges its share in the heritage of the pure teaching and the holy lives of the men whose ministry was solemnly pledged to no other doctrines than those of the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The pastors were full of zeal, preaching, instructing in the catechism, lecturing on the Bible chapter by chapter, visiting from house to house, and attending even to the details of the necessary business arrangements of the building of the two churches, in which they seem to have superintended everything, without the modern intervention of architects, contractors, etc. Rudman's health succumbed, before many years, from a pulmonary trouble. By his appeal to the authorities in Sweden, and with the advice of Dr. Svedberg, Andrew Sandel, a student at the University of Upsala, was appointed his successor, and ordained by Archbishop Benzelius, July 18, 1701. But before he could reach America, in 1702, an impostor by the name of Tollstadius had preceded him, and was in actual possession of the Wicaco Church, when, to the surprise of the infirm pastor Rudman, Sandel appeared. The story of Tollstadius that he had been sent to fill the place which Sandel had declined was found to be a fabrication. After endeav oring to collect another congregation among the Swedes, distant from the centers already established, and occasioning Rudman and Björk much trouble, he was finally drowned in the Delaware by the capsizing of his boat.

Rudman found that not only his infirm health but the

deep attachment of his wife to her native Pennsylvania and her relatives and property there rendered his proposed departure to Sweden very difficult. When Wicaco, therefore, was supplied, he took charge of the Dutch Lutheran Church at Albany, N. Y., as well as in New York City, where his pastorate extended from July, 1702, to November, 1703. He returned then to Philadelphia, and officiated as his strength permitted both for his Lutheran brethren and for the Episcopalians, especially at Frankfort, and when the rector of Christ's Church visited England in 1707, supplying his place. He died September 17, 1708, and was buried from Gloria Dei, Björk preaching from the text which Rudman had selected, Psalm lxxiii. 24.

Before Rudman's death, Björk had already been recalled by King Charles XII., but, on account of the slow mails of those days, the order of April 23, 1708, did not arrive until January 9, 1709. Its execution was equally dilatory, Björk remaining until June 29, 1714, even although his successor, Rev. Andrew Hesselius, and an assistant, Rev. Abraham Lidenius, shared for one year the same parsonage with him and his family of five children. The year before his return he became provost of all the Swedish churches in America. On his return to Sweden he became pastor at Fahlun, and died August 21, 1740. By his efforts, 1718, a silver communion-set, still in use in 1874, was presented to his former church at Christiana by the Fahlun Mining Company. No more beautiful tribute to his memory could be paid than that of Acrelius:

> He loved his American parishioners even until his death, and was loved by them after his death, so that the people got into a habit, which they still retain, of counting their age from his time—the older ones from his arrival in the country, the younger ones from his departure.[1]

[1] Page 274.

Before Auren, who had come over with Rudman and Björk rather as a surveyor than a pastor, had completed his maps, and could return according to the royal instructions, King Charles XI. died. Auren accordingly remained. He was not a man of the ability or sound judgment of his two companions, although the testimonials to the purity of his character and his devotion to what he believed to be his duty are most ample. In a little pamphlet called "Noah's Dove" he advocated the keeping of Saturday instead of Sunday; and when Björk, in a very Christian way, refuted it by a counter-pamphlet, humbly submitted, preaching to the people on Sunday, but keeping Saturday for his own private worship. He preached up to 1706 to both Swedes and English at Elk River in Maryland, when he took charge at Racoon, N. J., Björk giving only a provisional consent to the arrangement, "in view of the respect which Mr. Björk had for his bishop, with whose knowledge and direction he wished everything to be done."[1]

[1] Acrelius, p. 321.

CHAPTER V.

THE LUTHERANS OF NEW SWEDEN (1700–1742).

ONE of the most interesting facts in the early history of the Lutheran Church in America is the intimate relation that subsisted between the representatives of the various languages, as well as their reciprocal activity. The Swedish churches in their extremity had been cared for by a German pastor, who had been sent to this country by the Dutch. The Dutch churches, in turn, had been served by a Swedish pastor, in the person of Rudman. The next move is the ordination of a German by the Swedes to serve the Dutch. The ordination of Justus Falckner in Gloria Dei Church, November 24, 1703, is the most important event in the pastorates of Rudman and Björk.

Justus Falckner, the grandson of clergymen on both sides of the house, and the fourth son of Rev. Daniel Falckner, Lutheran pastor at Langenreindsdorf, Crimmitschau, and Zwickau, Saxony, was born November 22, 1672, and entered the University of Halle as a student under A. H. Francke in 1693. While a student, he composed a hymn, which, both in the original and in translations, has obtained wide recognition: "Auf ihr Christen, Christi Glieder," known in English as "Rise, ye children of salvation,"[1] and "If our all on Him we venture,"[2] whose merit is duly acknowledged in Duffield and Thompson's "English

[1] English Presbyterian, Psalms and Hymns (1867), Temple Hymn-book (1867), Laudes Domini (New York, 1884).

[2] Moravian Hymn-book, 1808, 1886.

Hymns."[1] When his studies were completed, he shrank from assuming the responsibilities of the ministry, and in 1700 accompanied his older brother, Daniel, to Pennsylvania, as a land agent of William Penn. The next year Rudman, with other Swedes, having been a large purchaser of land on the Manatawny, this business transaction probably brought together the Swedish pastor and the former theological student, who was fleeing from the office for which he had been trained. When, therefore, Rudman found his strength failing, and the necessity of immediate provision for the Dutch Church in New York was urgent, he appealed to Falckner. The answer was, that he was ready to accept a call, but that he must not be expected to preach a trial sermon.

Arrangements were accordingly made for the ordination. The officiating ministers were Rudman, Björk, and Sandel, all of whom signed the ordination certificate. Twenty-four years afterward, when this was cited as a precedent, the four Swedish pastors disclaimed the authority to ordain, and explained the ordination of Falckner upon the ground that Rudman had been made by the "Archbishop of Sweden" "suffragan- or vice-bishop."[2] It is interesting to note that, by a commission of the archbishop and consistory in Upsala of November 7, 1739, the two Swedish pastors in America, Dylander and Tranberg, were directed to ordain to the ministry William Malander, who had previously been a schoolmaster—an order which could not be carried out because of the death of Dylander, and the conviction on Tranberg's part that he was without authority alone to administer ordination. We bring these facts concerning the ordinations in the history of the Swedish churches together in order that their position may be clearly understood. The Swedish pastors could ordain,

[1] Page 466. [2] "Hallesche Nachrichten," new edition, p. 478.

but only as duly authorized to do so from Sweden, and not simply according to their own judgment. Falckner at once went to New York, preaching there for the first time on the third Sunday in Advent, 1703. His subsequent activity belongs to the history of the Dutch and not the Swedish Church in America.

Sandel, who succeeded Rudman at Gloria Dei, remained there from 1702 to 1719. His ministry, as well as that of Björk, is distinguished for the intimate relations with the neighboring Episcopalians which begin to become manifest. These, it appears, were promoted by the earnest advice of the great friend of the Swedish churches, Dr. Svedberg. The Swedish pastors were habitual attendants of their pastoral conferences. In the absence of the English rectors, they preached in their pulpits. On the fourth Sunday after Easter, 1712, Rev. George Ross of the English Church preached for Rev. Eric Björk at Wilmington, and Rev. Eric Björk for Rev. George Ross at Chester.[1] When a cornerstone was laid or a church consecrated by the English, the Swedes were regularly invited, and accepted the invitation. While Christ's Church, Philadelphia, was being enlarged in 1710, the Swedes arranged their services so that the English congregation could use the building every Sunday at eleven o'clock. When, in 1715, a Rev. Mr. Phillips had rendered himself very obnoxious to his congregation generally, Provost Sandel, at the request of the governor and of the English clergy, held an English service for two months and preached in English after the close of his Sunday morning service in Swedish. His own explanation of this relation is interesting:

> Although between them and us there is some difference with respect to the Lord's Supper, yet he [Dr. Svedberg] does not want that small difference to rend asunder the bond of peace. We do not attempt any discussion upon it;

[1] Gräbner, p. 119.

neither do we touch upon such things when we preach among them, nor do they attempt to persuade our people to their opinion in this respect; but we live on intimate and fraternal terms with one another, as they also call us their brethren. They have the government in their hands; we are under them; it is enough that they want to have this intercourse with us; we can do nothing else than render them every service and fraternal favor, as long as they are so amiable and confiding, and have not sought in the least to draw our children into their church. As our church is called by them the "sister-church of the Church of England," so we live fraternally together. God grant that this may long continue.[1]

Andrew Hesselius (1713–23), who succeeded Björk at Wilmington, was a nephew of Bishop Svedberg, and immediately showed much ability as an organizer. He made many good regulations and abolished disorders, and, by most specific instructions in parish meetings, taught the people their duties as to prompt attendance at church, bringing children to baptism, the character of godfathers, regularity in attendance on the Lord's Supper, betrothal and marriage, etc. In prayer, all were taught to kneel; but in singing the creed, and in hearing the gospel read, all were to stand. He complained of the singing on the part of some of his members, "as though they intended to call their cows to the church," and took much pains to instruct them, passing among them while the singing was in progress, in order to have all right. He translated into English a book of his uncle's, which, however, was not printed. Nor did he forget the Indians, but sought every opportunity to convert them; and was rewarded by the baptism of a boy whom he instructed, but who soon relapsed into heathenism. He labored amidst the discouragement of most insufficient support. His uncle comforted him with the Apostle's rule: "Having food and raiment, let us be therewith content;" but was answered by the question: "When we have not food and raiment, what then?" Toward the close of his stay he received a yearly

[1] Gräbner, p. 118, from the MS. of Sandin.

appropriation of ten pounds from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, together with a like sum if he would "perform divine service and preach in the English language in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, at least twenty times in one year."[1]

How was it possible for the Swedish churches to prosper when men like Hesselius were being constantly lost to it by their insufficient support? His companion to this country, Lidenius, succeeded Auren at Racoon and Pennsneck, N. J., displayed much energy in building a church and parsonage, and, "greatly beloved for his zeal and pleasing manners," followed Hesselius in the succeeding year, 1724, to Sweden.

In 1719 Wicaco received from the generous authorities in Sweden two pastors, while it had only support for one. The difficulty adjusted itself: the elder, Lidman, remained with them for ten years, while the younger, Samuel Hesselius, another nephew of Svedberg, first served Neshaminy and Manathanim, near Pottstown, Montgomery County, Pa., and finally became his brother's successor at Wilmington (1723–31), and returned to Sweden, wearied and disheartened by the false charges brought against him, one of the chief of which was that he neglected his own congregation in serving the English.[2]

With the age and infirmity of Bishop Svedberg "the golden age," says Acrelius, "of the Swedish Church in America ceased."

Passing over the unfortunate pastorate of Falck at Wicaco, except to note that he was fined by the civil authorities five hundred pounds for a charge he made against one of his members but could not prove, and that his entire stay was but one year, we come to two names distinguished for having aided very materially in laying

[1] Acrelius, p. 282 sq. [2] Acrelius, pp. 285 sqq.

the foundation of the German Lutheran Church in America. John Eneberg (born 1689) had studied at Upsala, but before the time for his ordination had come, had fled to Norway. He was in London in 1729, and there conceived the thought of becoming a missionary to America. As he was able to furnish most excellent testimonials, the unfortunate occurrence which had caused his flight[1] was not permitted to hinder his ordination. Svedberg, then Bishop of Skara, commissioned Rev. Mr. Norborg, the Swedish pastor in London, to ordain Eneberg. On arriving in America he was at first without a place, and for some time was occupied preaching to the scattered Germans. He also supplied the Wicaco church temporarily, but did not become a settled pastor until 1732, when he succeeded Samuel Hesselius at Christina. Mr. Eneberg, while serving the Germans, was unsuccessful in his attempts to preach English. How unbusiness-like the methods of the congregation were may be learned from the fact that, during the last four years of his service, he had not received a cent of his salary, and when he left, some of the church's land had to be sold to pay the accumulated debt. Eneberg, who was a bachelor, had lived by renting out the parsonage, and "the negress who had been purchased," and finding a home, from house to house, among his members.

Far more active and influential was John Dylander, who was pastor at Wicaco from 1737 to his death in 1741, and left a name long cherished with the greatest affection throughout the entire region. Professor Kalm, who traveled in America nearly ten years afterward, refers to him in his "Travels" as "the everywhere beloved Swedish minister." He preached in three languages in his church. Matin service was in German, "high mass" in Swedish,

[1] The death of a pupil whom he had chastised.

and the vesper service in English. He became so popular with the English-speaking people that the English rector complained to the governor of the weddings which Dylander was taking from him. Kalm states that, as during the week-days he visited and preached among various settlements of Germans, it often happened that within the week he preached no less than sixteen times. Among others whom he served were the Germans of Germantown. He even looked after the interests of the German Lutherans of Lancaster. Nor did he care only for the German Lutherans, but also for the German Reformed of Philadelphia, who, together, attended the German service in Gloria Dei Church. At his death his funeral sermon was preached in English by Pastor Tranberg, because of the large numbers of persons from all parts of the country and of various nationalities who were present to do him honor. One of the secrets of his influence is found in his having thoroughly identified himself with the Swedish-American people by his marriage with the daughter of the most prominent of the Swedish laymen, the merchant Peter Kock (Cook), who afterward was of the greatest aid to Muhlenberg when he first came to Philadelphia. So fully are the records of those days preserved that we are able to know even the books which the pastors had at hand in their studies; and the list prepared by Dylander shows two copies of that masterpiece of Lutheran theology, Gerhardt's "Loci Theologici," as well as Seckendorf's classical "History of Lutheranism."[1]

Still another pastor of this transition period was Rev. Peter Tranberg, who for fifteen years after his arrival was pastor at Racoon and Pennsneck, N. J., and married a daughter of the former pastor, Rudman. When in 1740 he was transferred to Christina, it was with an opposition

[1] Gräbner, p. 144.

on the part of his former parish that amounted to bitterness, and they resolved henceforth to be independent of the authorities in Sweden. Under his pastorate, English preaching was introduced into the church at Christina. He also preached in German and administered the Lord's Supper at Lancaster, and was "in travels abundant." His prudent administration of his private resources gave him considerable pecuniary independence, which was faithfully devoted to the service of the church. He was stricken at the funeral of a husband and wife, in his first charge, and died a few days later, in 1748, greatly lamented, Rev. George Ross of the English church preaching the English, and Rev. Gabriel Naesman, the Swedish sermon. Tranberg was the first of the Swedish Lutheran ministers whom Muhlenberg met, and with whom he coöperated. As will be seen, he may be said to have installed Muhlenberg.

Of Sandin and Naesman, who participated with Muhlenberg in the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, we will hear later.

Although an important chapter in the history of the Swedish settlement still remains, this seems a fitting place to make a survey of some of the features of the inner history of the early Swedish churches. In it we will necessarily have to anticipate by introducing facts drawn from Acrelius, who minutely describes the condition of the churches of his time, and the reforms which he instituted.

Owing no alliegance to the King of Sweden since 1655, when the Swedish rule gave way to the Dutch, soon to be supplanted in turn by the English, the king nevertheless continued to exercise his authority as their ecclesiastical head. If this arrangement was entirely broken by the occurrences of 1655, it was restored when the three pastors were sent to America in 1696. The king was their chief bishop, who acted either through the Archbishop of Upsala

or the Bishop of Skara, Svedberg, in the care of these churches. What the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London was to the English the King of Sweden was to the Swedish settlers and their descendants. It was, therefore, only an outlying station of a foreign church, not at home, but only temporarily sojourning in America, that we see in this entire history. The most earnest and best trained among the succession of devout pastors seems never to have thought about taking measures to secure the future independent development of the Swedish, or even of the Lutheran, Church in America. Whatever Swedish schools they had—and these at best were very poor[1]—were intended, with the secular branches necessary for honorable livelihood, to give nothing more than the elementary religious instruction which should be expected at confirmation. There was no thought of providing for a native Swedish-American ministry. No young men were found in these congregations and sent to Sweden to be prepared for the holy office. There seems to have been an entire dearth of laymen capable of intelligently participating in the administration of the affairs of the congregation, until we come to Peter Kock, who has been above mentioned. Eneberg found at Christina that "of the vestrymen and elders of the parish, there was scarcely any one who could write his own name."[2] The authorities in Sweden sent, transferred, and removed pastors at pleasure. Upon these pastors rested the great burden, not only of looking after the spiritual wants, but even, to a great extent, the business matters of the congregation. The interest of the people in the external development of the church was not

[1] "Forty years back our people scarcely knew what a school was. The first Swedish and Holland settlers were a poor, weak, and ignorant people, who brought up their children in the same ignorance."—Acrelius, p. 352.

[2] Acrelius, p. 291.

cultivated, except when the overflooded grounds of the churchyard or the yielding masonry or decaying timbers gave most positive ocular demonstration of the need of prompt action. This was not generally because of poverty, since those settlers were as a rule thrifty, but because they were taught, in religious matters, to rely upon the provision which the church in the fatherland was making for them. They preferred to sell off sections of their land, as needed, to pay back salaries, rather than supply the wants of their pastors according to a regular and systematic way. The results might have been foreseen. The most of the pastorates were brief. Young men were willing to engage in the work in America only as a preparation for higher places at home. The most earnest among them sacrificed their lives to the abundance of their labors. Others, as their families grew, felt constrained to petition for charges in Sweden. Pastors, when they could not regard themselves permanent, could not throw their full force into the work in America on all its sides, or take the widest view of its relations. It was enough if, in addition to fidelity in the pastoral responsibilities of their own people, they would also care for the immediate spiritual necessities of otherwise uncared-for people of other nationalities, especially when, as was eminently proper, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts acknowledged such services by contributing toward their scanty support.

One of the pastors presided over the rest as provost, who was also called "superintendent,"[1] made his visitations, examined into the state of the churches, and reported to the proper authorities in Sweden. In succession, until 1730, they are Rudman, Björk, Sandel, Andrew Hesselius, and Lidman. After an interruption, in the period yet before us, Sandin, Acrelius, and Wrangel filled the office.

[1] Acrelius, p. 363.

These provosts acted simply as the executives of the authorities in Sweden, and, notwithstanding the fact that it required about a year to receive an answer from across the ocean concerning a matter reported, they were required to await instructions. In three cases above, it has been seen that the Swedish authorities deemed their episcopal sanction for ordination sufficient, and directed that candidates be ordained by the provost and his brother ministers, or, in one case, by the pastor in London. Among the instructions to Acrelius in 1749 is one enjoining him to select one of the German pastors in America to install him as provost, and then that, as provost, with the assistance of the German pastor, he should install the church officers.[1] These same instructions are introduced with the obligation neither to accept nor teach "any other doctrine than that founded in God's holy Word, and comprised in our symbols and symbolical books."[2]

The provision for a "church council" in these congregations, while in entire harmony with what became the established practice in Sweden toward the close of the seventeenth century, was probably first introduced from the Dutch churches in New York by Fabritius.[3] While the Swedish pastors of the first period had no precedent in Sweden to follow at that time,[4] the Dutch Lutherans had from the time of the Reformation in Holland had this

[1] Section 11. Norberg, p. 214; Gräbner, p. 349.

[2] Section 1. Norberg, p. 211; Gräbner, p. 345. "Iakttager probsten på det nogaste alt det, hwartil han sig genom en dyr ed förbundit wid sjelwa prediko-embetets antagande och bör isynnerhet det wara honom om hjerat alt hwarken hos sig sjelf hysa eller för sina åhörare predika någon ann lära än den som är grundat i Guds hel. ord och i wära symbola och symboliska böcker författad: hafwande jemväl i denna nätto ett behöfligt inseende på dem som hans medbröder äro i embetet."

[3] "Organization of the Congregations in the Early Lutheran Churches in America," by B. M. Schmucker, D.D. (Philadelphia, 1887), p. 6.

[4] See above, chap. iv., p. 75.

organization in its fully developed form. As we find it mentioned, during the pastorate of Fabritius in 1684, the conclusion is irresistible that he organized his Swedish after the model of his former Dutch congregation. Under date of August 10th, "the churchwardens" appeal to their brethren of the parish for the salary and support of their blind and aged pastor. When Rudman came in 1702, he "installed the new churchwardens and vestrymen, and at the same time explained to each their duties."[1] The vestrymen had the oversight of the church property and the lives of the people. Where any required pastoral admonition, it was their duty to report them to the pastor, and, with the concurrence of the pastor, to bring such cases as would not yield to this treatment, before the church council. The churchwardens took up the collections, paid the pastor's salary, provided for the poor, etc. There is some confusion, as, from later accounts, the offices of vestrymen and elders are distinct.[2] Nor must it be forgotten that Rudman returned to the service of the Swedish churches as provost, after having been pastor of the New York Dutch churches for a time, and participated in church council meetings with the three classes of lay officials of those congregations.[3] In later years, the institution of church trustees, according to the law of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, involved the Swedish congregations in no little trouble.[4] Once the church council at Christina determined to be independent of its pastor in its business affairs, upon the suggestion of an agent, who "advised the vestry never to allow any of their priests to look into their management," with the result that the adviser so managed their business that he soon became the owner of "some of the best lots that had be-

[1] Acrelius, p. 215.
[2] Acrelius, pp. 232, 291.
[3] Gräbner, p. 88.
[4] For details, see Acrelius, p. 249.

longed to the congregation."[1] The congregations imposed fines upon their members,[2] and determined the modes of payment of dues.[3]

In Sandel's time at Wicaco (1702–19) there were two services (matins and "high mass") every Sunday morning. At the matin service a sermon was preached on the catechism, and between that and the second service the teacher went through the aisles and examined the people on the sermon. At the second service the full order then used by the Swedish church was followed.[4] Dylander's efforts to provide for the three languages caused some changes; but Sandel's order was restored by Naesman in 1743.[5] "The genuine Swedes," says Acrelius,[6] "are greatly attached to their church usages; and many English would be more pleased with the Swedish than with the English church service, if they understood the language." The minister was robed. The creed was sung. The crucifix in the churches was rejected as something that "should not even be talked of." Hymn-boards were introduced into the churches in Acrelius's time with good results.[7] The delay in bringing infants to baptism until they were six or seven weeks old was greatly deplored by several of the pastors, as well as the growing disuse of sponsorship, and the prejudice derived from Presbyterians and Episcopalians against *noth-taufe*, or the baptism of children by laymen when they are in immediate peril of death.[8] The massive baptismal font still in Gloria Dei Church, we were told on the spot, used to stand just outside of the church door, as a solemn reminder of how we enter the church. The old custom of the churching of women had maintained itself with more firmness than many other good customs.

[1] Acrelius, p. 391. [2] Page 217. [3] Page 229.
[4] Page 218. [5] Page 243. [6] Page 359.
[7] Page 302. [8] Page 354.

All other difficulties seemed to be overshadowed by that of the language question. On this we may hear the good provost himself:

> Sometimes it is concluded in the vestry that no more English preaching shall be held, no English any more be buried in the graveyard. Then the minister and church officers are decried as persons who regard all English heathen. They think that it is a failure in duty to water one part of the Lord's vineyard to overflowing, while many other parts wither and die. So this must be changed again. One will have his child baptized in English, another in Swedish, at one and the same hour in the church. Some refuse to stand as sponsors if the child is not baptized in Swedish, and yet it may be that the other sponsors do not understand it. One woman who is to be churched will have Swedish; the other, English; and this at the same time. When funeral sermons are preached, English people of every form of faith come together, and then it often happens that the one desires preaching in English, the other in Swedish, and that just as the minister is going into the church.[1]

No better indication of the high character and literary ability of the men who were sent from Sweden to America can be given than the books written on the subject by those connected with the Swedish churches. The grandson of Campanius and the son of Björk, the great patron of the mission, Bishop Svedberg, Provost Acrelius, and Professor Kalm, who married the widow of Provost Sandin, all published books treating either exclusively or with great fullness on the subject. The still later Provost Von Wrangel wrote, according to a letter to Muhlenberg, a "History of the German Lutheran Congregations in America," which he had sent to the press, but which, except for the several references of its preparation, is unknown.[2]

1 Page 361. 2 Mann, p. 512.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIRST GERMAN LUTHERANS IN AMERICA.

It will not be necessary to trace the history of German Lutheranism as we come to the introduction of its representatives to America. Not only are its leading facts more generally known, but its details would carry us into so many different fields as we would trace its varieties in the various States and principalities, that we would be carried far from our subject. America had been discovered nearly two hundred years before the German immigration began. Before the eighteenth century, it is probable that the entire number of those who had been brought hither might be placed upon an ordinary steamer of the present day.

William Penn was the instigator of German immigration. As a zealous propagandist of the doctrines of the Quakers, he had visited Germany in 1671 and 1677, and tarried at centers where converts had been made by the efforts of preceding missionaries. He had found German Quakers in Lübeck and Embden and Frankfort, and preached to a small congregation at Kriegsheim,[1] near Worms. The proclamation of 1681, inviting settlers to Pennsylvania, and stating the conditions of immigration, was immediately translated into German and circulated in Germany. In 1682 a Frankfort company purchased twenty-five thousand acres of land from Penn, and in the succeeding year the agent of this company, a young jurist, Pastorius, who, as also nearly

[1] The name is perpetuated in the Crêsheim Creek, within a short distance of where we now write, at Mount Airy, a northern portion of Germantown.

all the members of the Frankfort Company, is said to have been an adherent of Spener, came with his family and a few associates to Pennsylvania, "in order," as he said, "to lead a quiet and Christian life." The town was laid out as Germantown (Germanopolis), now a part of Philadelphia, in 1685, and incorporated in 1689. Within five years fifty houses had been erected. It became a center for German Quakers, Mennonites, and various forms of religious extravagance, as represented by the erratic preacher, Köster. About the year 1700 there were several German hermits along the Wissahickon, of whom Kelpius was the most prominent. The only Lutheran at this settlement of whom we read was Daniel Falckner, who came with the "hermits" in 1694, the older brother of Justus Falckner, and who, after becoming a land agent of the Frankfort Company, toward the close of his life became pastor of Lutheran congregations in New Jersey. The church at Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover) is thought to date from the year 1703.[1] Muhlenberg mentions a few Platt-Deutsch from the neighborhood of Cleves who came to this country between 1680 and 1708.

The immigration which concerns this history began in earnest about 1708. The causes determining it were manifold. The division of Germany into many petty principalities weakened greatly the national feeling, and gave more opportunity for arbitrary power on the part of rulers within, and for oppression from those without each State. The Thirty Years' War had depleted some neighborhoods of sixty per cent. of the population and property. While the central, northern, and eastern parts of Germany were able to recover rapidly from these ravages, the western

[1] The details concerning Justus Falckner's ordination and his immediate departure to New York brought to light by new documentary evidence obtained by Professor Gräbner, leave no room for his pastorate at the "Swamp."

frontier and the valley of the Rhine and its tributaries were kept in a constant state of desolation, either from actual war, or from the alarm and uncertainty almost as paralyzing as invasion itself. These provinces were made the battle-grounds or the tributaries of France, subject to exacting levies of money and to cruel conscriptions. Especially was the Rhenish Palatinate, one of the fairest portions of Germany, the object of the rapacity and cruelty of the unprincipled king, Louis XIV., and his general, Turenne. It has been well said: "To this date, from Drachenfels to Heidelberg, the line of march is marked by crumbling walls, ruined battlements, and blown-up towers."[1] Severe winters and failures of harvest were added. Pastorius was active in the publication and circulation of documents in Germany setting forth the advantages offered to emigrants in the New World. Other land agents emulated him. The thought of fortunes to be gained, instead of their repeated disappointments, inspired the more sanguine, in whom the religious motive was absent.

An advance band from Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt, diverted from their goal, New York, reached and settled German Valley, N. J., in 1707. The same year the Lutheran pastor at Landau, Kocherthal, left his home with sixty-one persons, knowing scarcely whither to go. The English residents of Frankfort provided for their transportation to England, where they were kindly received by Queen Anne and others. In deciding as to their future disposition the first thought was to send them to Jamaica or Antigua; but at last they embarked for New York. They were first naturalized as English subjects, a handsome present was made to the pastor, five hundred acres of land were set apart for their church, for which also the queen furnished

[1] "Pennsylvania Magazine of History," vol. x., p. 250.

a bell, and tools were given for the colonists. On the last day of 1708 they found a welcome in America, the governor of New York, Lord Lovelace, being particularly friendly. Twenty-one hundred acres of land north of West Point being allotted them, they called their new home Newburg. The death of the governor, and the separation from them of a small band on the charge of Pietism, were followed in June, 1709, by a trip of the pastor to England, in order to confer with the queen concerning the future of his people.

Meanwhile the generosity of the queen was taxed to the utmost. The numbers vary in different accounts, but the estimate is from ten to twenty thousand of Palatinates who managed in some way to reach England that year, to the great astonishment of its inhabitants, in the expectation that the government would provide for their transportation to America. A large camp for their accommodation was opened at Greenwich. Within a year six thousand had left Heidelberg and its immediate vicinity. Alarmed at the depletion of his province, the Elector Palatinate felt constrained to publish an order threatening with death those who would without due authority thus abandon his domain. Those not Protestants were returned to their homes. Thirty-eight hundred were settled in Munster, Ireland, near Limerick. Seven hundred were taken by the Carolina Company, and founded New Berne, N. C. Three thousand more, in ten vessels, accompanied Kocherthal on his return voyage in 1710. Nearly eight hundred died on the way, or of ship fever shortly after landing. They were temporarily quartered on Governor's Island, and divided into ten sections, each under a leader. In the autumn arrangements were made with Robert Livingstone for settling them some one hundred miles up the Hudson, at the foot of the Cats-

kills, at West, and also for a time at East, Camp. Before the winter was upon them a church and schoolhouse had been erected.

The dream of the Palatinates was realized: they had found a home to replace that of their vine-clad hills. But they had not left the cross behind them. They were unprepared for the rigorous winter. They not only suffered severely, but were dissatisfied with the treatment they received from Governor Hunter and Livingstone. The Palatinates were skillful farmers and vine-growers; Hunter and Livingstone had located them with a view to the manufacture of tar and other products to be obtained from the forests. They begged to be sent to Schoharie, to which place the queen had intended they should go, and made provision in a treaty with the Indians. The authorities were inflexible; but the Palatinates were determined. They sent their agents into the Schoharie country, and arranged the terms to the satisfaction of the Indians. Meanwhile the attempt to force them to confine their work to what Livingstone had intended proved vain; the thirty thousand barrels of tar that had been expected of the colonists, as a return for the expense to which the government had gone, amounted, all told, to only two hundred. In October, 1712, several hundred moved to Schoharie without the permission of the authorities; in March, through deep snow, they were followed by others. By the friendship of the Indians, they were able to subsist throughout the hardships of that winter. In order to obtain a clear title to the land, a delegation was sent to England in 1718 to confer with the government. One of the members of this commission was John Conrad Weiser, father of the afterward distinguished Indian agent and father-in-law of Muhlenberg, Conrad Weiser. Captured by pirates and imprisoned in England for debt, it was not until 1723 that he

returned from his vain mission. His health was greatly shattered by his trials.

Meanwhile the loss of the colony under Kocherthal had been partially made up by other immigrants. Both branches extended, the one along the Hudson to Rhinebeck on the eastern, and Esopus, Kingston, New Paltz, etc., on the western side of the Hudson; the other branch, to the present Middleburg (then known as Weisersdorf) and to Palatine Bridge in the Mohawk Valley, and to Cobleskill. The colony of New York no longer favoring the German immigration, the current about 1712 turned to Pennsylvania. A portion also of the Schoharie colony, in 1723, under the guidance of friendly Indians, floated three hundred miles down the Susquehanna, and located in Tulpehocken. There they were joined in 1729 by the younger Conrad Weiser, the father remaining at Schoharie, until near the close of his life, in 1745, when he followed his son, and conferred with Muhlenberg as a spiritual adviser.

The Palatinates were not all Lutherans. That unfortunate province was agitated by almost as many ecclesiastical as political changes. Not until 1545 was the Reformation formally introduced by Frederick II., and that, too, "more from external constraint than from inward conviction." Otto Henry, his nephew, who succeeded him in 1556 and held the government for three years, was a decided Lutheran, and his activity encountered much resistance among the people. Frederick III., his successor, a man of great ability and positive character, was just as determined in his adherence and advocacy of the Reformed faith. It was at his suggestion and under his auspices that the Heidelberg Catechism was composed, mediating between Calvinism and Lutheranism, his friends claiming that, through Ursinus, a pupil of Melanchthon, it is in general harmony with Melanchthon's later position as contrasted with Luther's.

"He was the first German prince," says Dr. Schaff, "who professed the Reformed creed, as distinct from the Lutheran.[1]" Under him the Lutheran orders of service were abolished, and none but Reformed members introduced into the consistories.

But the eldest son and successor of Frederick III. (1576–83) was a Lutheran, who dismissed Reformed professors and pastors, reintroduced the Lutheran worship, and insisted on conformity with the Formula of Concord. Again there was a change, when John Casimir became regent, and showed, though less decidedly, his Reformed feeling. His successor was an advocate of church union as the most effectual mode of resisting the growing Catholic power, which, during its dominancy in the darker days of the Thirty Years' War, denied to the rightful elector the exercise of his authority, but held it in the interest of hostility to both Lutheran and Reformed. The effect of the Peace of Osnabrück was the toleration of both religious parties. In general, the character of the Palatinate theology, on both sides, is conciliatory and mediating; a tendency greatly strengthened by the life-and-death struggle through which both confessions in the Palatinate had to pass during the Thirty Years' War, as well as by the scenes which followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

The two confessions came into this country alongside of each other, as they have subsisted ever since in a large number of parishes in Pennsylvania. Thus, at Newburg, alongside of Pastor Kocherthal was the German Reformed pastor, John Frederick Häger, whom he married.

Of much interest are two memorials of Kocherthal, for which we are indebted to the industrious researches of Professor Gräbner. One is the title of his "Church Book," which begins: "Church Book of the Church of the Ger-

[1] "Creeds of Christendom," vol. i., p. 532.

mans who Embrace the Augsburg Confession." The baptismal register in it begins: "Catalogue of the infants who were baptized by me, Joshua Kocherthal, first pastor of the Germans in New York."

The other is his tombstone at West Camp, N. Y., under the shadow of the Overlook Mountain, on which there was legible in 1891 the inscription:

Know, pilgrim, that under this stone rests, alongside of his Sibylla Charlotte, a true pilgrim, who was the Joshua of the High Germans in America, and a pure Lutheran preacher to them, both on the west and the east side of the Hudson River. His first arrival was with Lord Lovelace, January 1, 1708. His second with Colonel Hunter, June 14, 1710. His journey to England intervened. The heavenly journey of his soul occurred on St. John's Day, 1719. If you would know, seek in the fatherland of Melanchthon, who was Kocherthal, who Horschias, who Winchenbach. B. Berkenmayer. S. Heurtein. L. Brevort, MDCCXLII.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUTCH CHURCHES FROM FALCKNER TO MUHLENBERG.

We return to Justus Falckner and the Dutch congregations in New York and Albany, for which he was ordained by the Swedish pastors. The congregation in New York we find very soon appealing to the Swedes for aid in building a new church. A similar appeal to the Dutch on the island of St. Thomas met with a prompt and generous response.

The territory covered by Falckner's labors was very great. It centered about two points, New York, to which he devoted the summer, and Albany, to which he devoted the winter, each of them including from six to eight outlying posts, where there were natives of Holland or their descendants to be served. With the coming of the Palatinates an additional care was imposed on him. His church records were kept in a unique way, it being his habit to write a brief prayer after every important entry. We cannot be too grateful to Professor Gräbner for the discovery and preservation of a number of these most beautiful and devout prayers.[1] He closes the record of his first day's work with the following, in classical Latin:

God, the Father of all goodness, and Lord of Great Majesty, who hast forced me into this harvest, grant unto me, thy humble and very weak laborer, thy special grace, without which I must perish under the burden of temptations which frequently overwhelm me. In thee, O Lord, have I put

[1] "History," pp. 94–96.

my trust; let me not be confounded. Render me fit for my calling. I have not run, but thou hast sent me; thou hast forced me into the office. Meanwhile, whatever, without my knowledge, a corrupt nature has introduced within me, forgive and pardon me, humbly praying thee, through our Lord, yea, through my Jesus Christ. Amen.

To the record of three baptisms at Hackensack in February, 1704, he adds that of one of the "Van Boskerk" family in New York in the following April, and writes:

O Lord, Lord, may this child, with the three above-recorded Hackensack children, be written and remain in the Book of Life, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Other prayers, in true collect form, run:

O God, may this child be and remain a child of everlasting salvation, through Christ.

O God, let this child be included and remain in thy eternal favor, through Christ.

O Lord, we commend this child unto thee, for both temporal and eternal welfare, through Christ.

O my God, may this child be and remain a member of thy kingdom of grace and glory, through Christ.

Let this child taste and enjoy thy sweet love and grace in time and in eternity. Amen.

An entry of an infant baptism shows us that at this early period there were even negro Lutherans in America, and that Falckner had admitted some into his New York congregation. In 1704 he baptized "Maria, the young daughter of Are of Guinea, a negro, and his wife Jora, both Christians of our congregation," and prayed:

Lord, merciful God, thou who regardest not the persons of men, but, in every nation, he that feareth thee and doeth right is accepted before thee; clothe this child with the white garment of innocence and righteousness, and let it so remain, through Jesus Christ, the Redeemer and Saviour of all men. Amen.

Five children born to destitute Palatinate emigrants on the ocean were baptized by Falckner during their stay in

huts on Governor's Island. What can be more appropriate and touching than this prayer for the homeless ones?

Lord, Almighty God and Father in Christ Jesus, who, by thy wondrous power, hast so ordered it that these children were born upon the great and dreadful ocean, lead them, by thy grace, through the tempestuous sea of this world, that, at last, they may all arrive at the haven of the New Jerusalem, where all tyranny and all tyrannical, false mercy shall have an end, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

Again, after recording the baptisms of an entire year, he writes:

Let not one of the names above written be blotted out of thy Book; but let them be written and remain therein, through Jesus Christ, thy dear Son. Amen.

Similar prayers concerning confirmations and marriages are also given, showing how the faithful pastor kept in view the wants and cares and temptations and sorrows of each individual to whom God called him to minister, and carried them in prayer before the throne of grace. They show the tender and even sensitive heart of one who, not for worldly considerations, but from his dread of the great responsibilities of the ministerial office, had shrunk from assuming them, until the call was too urgent and direct to be neglected; as well as the cultivated style and fervor of an approved hymn-writer. He stood in friendly relations with Kocherthal, whose daughter he baptized, and whom he succeeded. It was probably only to meet necessities which otherwise could not be provided that he assumed temporary charge of his churches. He was married, when he had nearly completed the fourteenth year of his pastorate, by Rev. William Vesey of the English Church. In the later years of his life his home was at Claverack, as a convenient center for his parish, which had a length of from one hundred and seventy-five to two hundred miles. We find him energetically pursuing his work up to the time of his death in the autumn of 1723,

at the age of fifty-one years. His elder brother, Daniel, who had become pastor of Dutch congregations in New Jersey in and about Raritan, was, in 1724, a temporary supply for both the Dutch and German churches along the Hudson. For many years the ministry of Daniel Falckner had been forgotten, and Justus Falckner was accordingly credited with many references made in contemporary documents to Daniel.

Falckner, besides being a laborious pastor, found time to prepare and publish in 1708 a handbook of Christian doctrine in questions and answers. It was highly commended by Löscher, one of the most prominent Lutheran theologians of that time in Germany, as an "Anti-Calvinistic compendium of doctrine."

Upon the death of Falckner the New York congregation sent one of their members to Amsterdam to petition the Lutheran Consistorium to provide a new pastor for them, and at the same time to collect for a new church building. It is interesting to read attached to his credentials the well-known names of Beekman and Van Buskirk. The consistorium determined to call from Hamburg William Christopher Berkenmeyer, who, while at first disinclined to accept it, after a severe illness, in which he vowed that, in case he would recover, he would no longer refuse, was ordained in Amsterdam, May 24, 1725, and set out for his field of labor. Berkenmeyer was a man of mature age, having been born in 1686 at Bodenteich in Lüneburg, and studied at Altdorf, near Nuremberg—a university united with Erlangen in 1809—while Dr. Sontag was the leading theologian. It can scarcely be a mere coincidence that in 1720 there was living at Hamburg a theological student who was the parish clerk of St. Peter's Church and a native of Lüneburg, also by the name of Berkenmeyer, although the initials differ (C. L.), and who obtained some distinc-

tion as a writer on antiquarian subjects. On his way he was intercepted by a letter from New York, stating that his services were not wanted. A former tailor had insinuated himself into the congregation, and won to himself the support of many of the members, but sought in vain from various sources for ordination. A call to Berkenmeyer from Albany came at the same time. Arriving at New York with his credentials from Amsterdam, he had little difficulty in establishing himself. He brought with him a library for the congregation, bought with funds which he had collected, which would be beyond the capacity not only of the most of the congregations, but even most of the pastors of the present day. It consisted of twenty folios, fifty quartos, twenty-three octavos, and six duodecimos, among them such massive works as Calovius' "Biblia Illustrata," Baldwin's "Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles," Dedekenn's "Consilia," and the same system of theology that Björk had with him, viz., Brochmand. They are ponderous, even to a scholar. The remnants of this library are said to be in Wittenberg College, Springfield, O. The member of the congregation who went for a pastor collected some funds; but unfortunately he was found to be short in his accounts. Berkenmeyer's activity, however, awakened sufficient interest to bring willing contributors from the Lutheran congregation in London, with the result that on the fourth Sunday after Trinity, 1729, the new Trinity Church was dedicated in New York, and Trinity congregation in New York was aiding the congregation at Albany in the beginning of collections for the same work. Berkenmeyer continued Falckner's course of dividing the year between the northern and southern part of his extensive parish. At Albany the church became untenable, and the subscriptions did not warrant the beginning of the new building; the English church was

kindly put at the disposal of the Lutherans, and accepted. The places besides New York and Albany which Berkenmeyer served were Loonenburg, where there was a parsonage for him while in the northern portion of his parish, Raritan, N. J., Hackensack, Claverack, Newton, West Camp, Theerbush, Camp, Rhinebeck, Schenectady, Coxsackie, Schoharie. Besides, he often preached in dwelling-houses and barns. Those, too, were the days in which there were no railroads or steamboats.

Two years after his arrival he was married to the daughter of one of his predecessors, Kocherthal. The same English clergyman (Rev. Dr. Vesey) officiated who had married Justus Falckner. Mr. Berkenmeyer offered Dr. Vesey an English translation of the marriage ceremony as found in the order of the Lutheran Church of Holland; but he claimed the right to insist on using the Book of Common Prayer, and there was no alternative. He records the visits of congratulation by the English clergy, and notices the fact that other clergymen using the language of his congregation did not show the same courtesy. Mrs. Berkenmeyer survived her husband many years, having communed in Trinity Church as late as 1775.

The organizing talent of the North Germans was fully developed in Berkenmeyer. He soon realized the necessity of a division of his large parish, especially as in his long absences the need of the people for more frequent services favored the entrance of impostors, among whom was Von Dieren, the tailor who has been already mentioned as having almost obtained the New York congregation before Berkenmeyer's arrival. So persistent were Von Dieren's efforts that Berkenmeyer found it necessary to publish a book exposing his pretensions, citing the document of the four Swedish pastors concerning him and his application to them for ordination, and making a number of interesting

observations on various questions. The record of the meeting of the New York Church Council is still preserved, in which he presented a paper giving the reasons for an immediate division of the charge, and, to the amazement and grief of those present, handed in his resignation. Point by point, the patient vestrymen weighed the reasons and assented to them, and then gave a reluctant consent to what they saw could not be otherwise without damage to the spiritual interests of the people. Michael Christian Knoll, born in Holstein in 1696, became pastor of the southern portion at the close of 1732, after being ordained by the Lutheran pastors in London.

Berkenmeyer felt also the need of a union of all the churches under a more efficient organization. In a long Latin letter to Pastor Lidman of the Swedish church at Wicaco and to Bishop Svedberg he recounts the difficulties with which the Lutherans of New York have to contend, and asks them to intercede with the King of Sweden in their interests. His plan was to unite and place under the care of the King of Sweden the Dutch and the German as well as the Swedish churches, to obtain from him all pastors, and to submit to such mode of administration as he might designate, whether through a "Pennsylvania consistorium" or episcopal authority, and to have him arrange with the King of England for the prohibition of all who assumed to be ministers but whose claims were not legitimated by the Swedish authorities.[1] The scheme was of course impracticable. The Swedes were themselves wrestling with the difficulty of a supply of pastors. But nothing could be expected from the Amsterdam Consistorium. The Dutch Reformed and even the German Reformed were governed from Amsterdam; and the Episcopal Church, from England. There was no central Lutheran

[1] Details in Gräbner, p. 177 sq.

Church authority in Germany which could be made the representative of Lutheran unity. The independence of America and the American churches was much nearer than they imagined, if they imagined it at all. Sweden, therefore, with its ecclesiastical laws of 1686, agreeing closely with those of the Dutch Church, and its language closely related to the Dutch, seemed to him to offer the solution.

When it is said that Berkenmeyer in 1735 presided over the first Lutheran synod in America, this must be understood with some qualifications. No synod existed such as we understand by the name. The synods as we have them are confederacies of congregations united permanently under a constitution, prescribing regular meetings, and a system of oversight and administration under officers. The synod over which Berkenmeyer presided was a conference of the pastors and representatives of the congregations and their descendants that had been served by Falckner and Kocherthal, which was held only once, and that for the purpose of adjusting serious difficulties in the New Jersey field. The one feature which gives it any claim to any appearance of a synod of later years was that Pastor Berkenmeyer, as the oldest pastor present, opened the proceedings with the words:

> In the name of Jesus, Amen. Before opening this synod it will be necessary for us to sanction our fraternity by subscribing the Amsterdam Church Order, as it has hitherto been in use in our congregations pledged to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and has recently been more strictly applied.

But when we more carefully examine the circumstances, we find that this was intended as the condition upon which the pastors and congregations who adhered to the Amsterdam Order were willing to act as arbitrators between Pastor Wolf and his people. If there had been another meeting of this kind in Berkenmeyer's time, it would have been the second synod in America. According to this reckon-

ing, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania will soon hold its one hundred and fiftieth synod.

Professor Gräbner reproduces the incidents of the meeting in a way almost as graphic as that with which Dean Stanley portrays the assembling of the Council of Nice. We see Dominie Berkenmeyer setting out, August 7, 1735, from Loonenburg, furnished with credentials from his congregations "to deliberate and vote, to do and act, as according to God's Word, our symbolical books, and the Amsterdam Church Order, may seem good to his Reverence." The wind is contrary, and it takes the boat four days to descend the Hudson. The synod was to have met in New York. Six delegates have come to represent their side against their pastor; but the pastor is not to be found. Berkenmeyer decides that the synod shall be held in Pastor Wolf's own parish, so as to insure his presence. At eleven o'clock, August 20, 1735, almost two weeks after Berkenmeyer started, this "first Lutheran synod" convenes. Its roll and organization was:

Pastors: Berkenmeyer, Knoll, Wolf.

Lay delegates: New York: Charles Beekman, Jacob Bos; Hackensack: Jacob Van Norden, Abraham Boskerk; Uylekil: Peter Frederick; Rockaway: Balthasar Pichel, Lorenz Rulofsen; Raritan: Daniel Schumacker, Henry Schmid.

Total: ministers, three; lay delegates, nine. President and secretary: Berkenmeyer.

Peace was temporarily restored to the distracted congregation, upon the promise of the pastor to be "satisfied with New Jersey instead of New York money," to charge twelve shillings for a funeral sermon for an adult, and six shillings for such sermon for a child, to conform to the "Church Order" in his ministerial acts, and to "preach out of his head" instead of from manuscript, as soon as

the parsonage would be ready for his use. But it was only a temporary peace. Muhlenberg was afterward to be tormented by appeals from both sides, until at last, with much reluctance, he joined with Revs. Tobias Wagner and Knoll in an arbitration in 1745. A full report, which is by no means edifying reading, is found in the new edition of the Halle "Reports," pp. 112–141. It stands as a warning that nothing is gained by withholding the exercise of strict discipline against clerical offenders, and that, in the interests of the peace of the church and the salvation of souls, Christian love sometimes demands measures just as prompt as they are severe and decisive.

The language question came into prominence during the close of Berkenmeyer's career. It seems that from the very beginning of Berkenmeyer's ministry in 1725 the English was used entirely in the church at Albany,[1] having displaced the Dutch. In later years the English gave way to the German, to be reintroduced in 1808, and to gain again, in 1812, the exclusive position it had held during Berkenmeyer's entire ministry. The explanation is manifest; first came the Dutch, then their anglicized descendants, who at last ceased entirely to attend Berkenmeyer's preaching; then the Germans, followed by the anglicized German-Americans. But in New York, before the Dutch were anglicized, German immigration had set in so vigorously that the Germans in the congregation began to outnumber the Dutch, occasioning a protracted struggle concerning the language to be used in the services. Between the Dutch and the Germans, Pastor Knoll was in perpetual misery. In 1742 it was decided by the church councils that before every communion there should be a preparatory service in German. Pastor Knoll informed the Germans that it was unreasonable to expect more. It would

[1] Gräbner, p. 22.

be very easy, he said, for the Germans to learn Dutch, and if they would be more regular in their attendance the difficulties with the Dutch language would soon vanish, and they would be able to participate in the services to edification. But the Germans thought differently. The next year they renewed their petition, and demanded that half the services should be in their language. The Dutch thought that they were generous in conceding one sixth. But when the time for the German service came, Pastor Knoll had to preach German to a Dutch audience, since the Germans almost to a man absented themselves. In the midst of the confusion, during the period that Pastor Knoll devoted to his country congregations, a German impostor, by the name of Hofguth, a man of great pretensions, insinuated himself, and actually managed to hold a German service in the church, without permission of the pastor or church council; and when prohibited, he held services and administered the sacraments in private houses, until sufficient evidence came from Germany as to his false character to move the governor of the colony to officially notify him to desist. He retired to the country, where he still gave Pastor Knoll considerable trouble.

The Germans returned once more to the contest. Again, in 1749, they demanded half the services. They insisted that a great wrong was being done them in denying them the Word of God in their own language. Dutch they did not understand. This was especially true of their women and children. At home they spoke German; when they went into the street they heard only English. If they could not be provided with sufficient German services in the Lutheran Church, they would join the Church of England, as the English was better understood among the Germans of New York than was the Dutch. They made an impression upon the pastor; but in all the meetings of the council the

votes were evenly divided, the representatives of the old Dutch Lutheran families, the Beekmans and Van Buskirks, being determined in their opposition to the introduction of more German. It seems strange that the justice of the request of the Germans was not universally acknowledged; for the communion records show that, of the eighty communicants at Whitsunday, 1739, only seven were present at the Dutch preparatory service, and of eighty-one in 1749 only nine were Dutch, and the rest Germans. But the argument by which the Germans were opposed was that it was dangerous to make any concessions, and if half of the services were granted them they would very soon have all, and the Dutch would disappear; who could prevent it? The result was, as might have been anticipated, a split in the congregation. A Rev. J. F. Ries, who had studied both theology and medicine in Germany, was called as pastor of a new German congregation. But the majority of the Germans did not follow him. In 1757 there were sixty-three German and eighteen Dutch communicants in the old church. But long before this Knoll had resigned, worn out with the conflict, and a better state of things had been introduced by the brief pastorate of Muhlenberg.

Berkenmeyer entered into his rest August 25, 1751, at the age of sixty-five, active in his pastoral duties until the end. He brought energy, devotion, and learning to his work; but the advanced age at which he entered the ministry and came to this country partially explains his inferiority to Muhlenberg in his ability to adapt himself to circumstances and to overcome serious difficulties. His tastes were scholastic, and he prepared with ease erudite theological opinions, with copious citations from the best of Lutheran authorities. He preached in three languages, was greatly beloved by his people, and, although he kept

negro slaves, as did his parishioners and neighbors, he cared for their spiritual interests. He filled an important place in the development of the Lutheran Church in America, and filled it well. Without directly attacking Muhlenberg, he kept aloof from him, as from all others trained at Halle, because of his great aversion to Pietism, which he had learned to know by some of its extravagances in Germany. The year before his death Muhlenberg called upon him in New York, and was most courteously received. We know nothing of their conversation except that Berkenmeyer excused himself from attending upon services at which Muhlenberg was to preach. They never met again on earth.

With ministers and members of other churches he was friendly. When Pastor Frelinghuysen, of the Reformed Dutch Church in Albany, was ill with the smallpox, Berkenmeyer braved the danger of the contagion to visit him. But he never hesitated to testify against what he believed to be serious errors in the teaching of those around him, even at the risk, sometimes, of seeming to be discourteous.

As early as 1742 a portion of Berkenmeyer's northern district had been given by him to Rev. Peter N. Sommer, who lived at Schoharie, serving also Stone Arabia, Palatine Bridge, Cobleskill, etc., and who married a daughter of Berkenmeyer. He was from Hamburg, and a man of like spirit with his father-in-law. He served the Schoharie charge until disabled by the infirmities of age. For twenty years he was blind, but before the close of life awoke one morning to find his sight restored. One who treats of the history of those days from a purely secular standpoint has said of Sommer:[1]

[1] Kapp, p. 327 sq.

The life of this unpretentious and able man was a constant struggle with the elements, a joyful surrender to the spiritual and moral interests of his congregations, a discreet heroism that did not force itself into publicity, nevertheless intrepidly performed its full duty within a narrow circle. What attracts us to a hero is the naïveté of his acts, and the entire confidence with which they are performed; unconsciously to himself, he does the right thing at the right moment. Sommer was a man of such superior, decided, and firm character. He rode among the hostile Indians without ever thinking of his danger, and yet at the same time always cautious and self-possessed. Once on a journey along the Mohawk he was thrown by his shying horse; he calmly determined to continue his way on foot, but before going farther fastened to a tree a sheet of paper with an account of his accident, in order to pacify the members of his congregation when the riderless horse would return, and they would seek him. It turned out according to his anticipations. Scarcely had the horse returned to Schoharie, before many of its inhabitants set forth to search for their pastor, whom they supposed to be murdered by the Indians. In the midst of the forest they found where he had been thrown, and also the statement that he had survived.

"On September 25, 1746," so reads the brief entry in his church records, "a sermon was preached and the Lord's Supper administered to the volunteers who were going on the expedition against Canada." Into these simple words an entire chapter of history is condensed. When Quebec was taken, and with the fall of its fortress the French dominion over the continent was broken, and England's supremacy established, Sommer celebrated with his congregation, on November 22, 1759, a public Thanksgiving festival, and, in like manner, the return of peace was greeted by him, August 1, 1763. Many a German home had been burned in the wild border warfare, many a flourishing German neighborhood had been laid in ashes, many a brave German had fallen upon the field of battle, or been stricken down and scalped in ambush; and the survivors had the right to rejoice over the annihilation of the power of their strong and formidable enemy, and to give thanks for their deliverance.

He died in 1795, in his eighty-seventh year. One ministerial family, consisting of Kocherthal, Berkenmeyer, and Sommer, served the Lutheran congregations of central New York for by far the greater part of the eighteenth century.

In 1734 three congregations (Rhinebeck, West Camp, and Theerbusch) on the east side of the Hudson had called a man as pastor whom Berkenmeyer never would acknowledge as such. His language was certainly plain: "I no more recognize you as a Lutheran minister than I do the

devil as an apostle." The result showed that his judgment was correct. Where the field was so vast and the organization so defective, it was not very difficult for congregations to have such an experience. From 1737 Berkenmeyer again became their pastor. Not many years after, and during the earlier years of Muhlenberg's ministry, the well-known John Christopher Hartwig labored in this field.

Knoll, after leaving New York, was for a long time pastor of a congregation in Dutchess County and the congregation at Newburg. Berkenmeyer's charge, which had no regular pastor for twenty-two years after his death, was also served by him temporarily.

Before we leave the Dutch Lutheran congregations of the eighteenth century, reference may be made also to a colony on James Island, S. C., in 1674, which included "Dutch Lutherans," and suffered proscription for not submitting to the Church of England. Dr. Bernheim is of the opinion that they came thither from New York; but their history is in entire obscurity.[1]

[1] Bernheim, p. 56.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HALLE LUTHERANS, THE CHURCHES IN LONDON, AND THE ENGLISH SOCIETIES.

THE German Lutheran pastors who had from time to time been sent to serve the Dutch churches in America had come almost exclusively from Hamburg or its vicinity. The pastors who controlled the development of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania and the South proceeded from Halle. One representative of this school we have already learned to know in Justus Falckner. Before proceeding further we must interrupt the narrative, to go to the fountain-head of the movement which was powerfully felt in the latter half of the eighteenth century in America.

Philip Jacob Spener (1635–1705), the founder of the school represented by Halle, had no thought of departing in any way from the most clear and explicit definitions of the Lutheran confessions. In the violent Pietistic controversy his adversaries constantly endeavored to prove him unfaithful to the confessions; but he always repelled these attacks with the most earnest protestations of their incorrectness. It was his aim, not to overthrow the doctrines therein maintained, but to insist upon their application in the practical life of the individual Christian and the church. Again and again he insisted, "That church always remains the true church which has and retains the pure Word of God, even though the greater part of the congregation have deteriorated." He rejected, as an error explicitly repudi-

ated by the Lutheran symbols, the conception that there are no Christians except in the Lutheran Church; but at the same time affirmed that, by reason of the purity of its confession, the Lutheran has a claim to the name "church" above that of other communions. He held that the Lutheran Church of his day had greatly degenerated; but urged that the remedy was to be found not in abandoning it, or in seeking to amend its definitions and church regulations, but in putting new life into the old forms. He says:

> When I consider the state of things, with all their circumstances, I will not deny that I cannot entertain any very great hopes, that, with all our diligence, we will accomplish much to bring our church into the condition in which it should be; but whatever we do, nothing but bungling will remain, and the Lord alone will have the glory of restoring his church. And yet it will be our part even to bungle, as well as we can and as long as we can; but not to pull up that wherein there is still something good. We must bear patiently what we cannot change, and cry to God day after day that he would make the salvation of Israel come out of Zion (Psalm xiv. 7), and receive back again his banished ones. Especially must we be on our guard, lest we take offense at the church, or its sad state, concerning which Luther raised his warning; but be assured, that, beneath the soiled and tattered garment which surrounds it, it is still inwardly good, as only God and the eye of faith can see. As soon as one begins to separate from the church because of offenses, this separation is the very gravest offense, more grievous than all the evils which he attempts to flee.[1]

His treatment of his relation to the symbolical books of the Lutheran Church is clear, full, and discriminating, as he presents it in a special treatise.[2] They are, he maintains, not the rule of our faith, but of our doctrine. They have no infallibility or divine perfection. The form in which they have made some statements is susceptible of improvement and criticism, when an application of their definitions is made to controversies which their writers did not have in view; but, nevertheless, the doctrines themselves, regarded in their contemporary relations, he accepted throughout.

[1] Sermon at Dresden, Sexagesima Sunday, 1690.

[2] "Theologische Bedenken," vol. i., pp. 341–394.

But he would not bind his faith to the symbolical books. They were not intended to present exhaustive systems of doctrine, but only to decide, at particular times, questions which had then been called into controversy. They are not to be used so as to arrest the study of the Holy Scriptures and silence the testimony of Christians on subjects on which these books do not treat. "The assurance of their truth we accept not from our regard for their composers, or from the acceptance even of our church, but because we have found them to be in harmony with the divine Word." To ascribe to them greater authority was to contradict these books themselves. Spener found in the English theology which he read, a confounding of law and gospel that he regarded dangerous.[1]

As Luther in the confessional, so Spener in the fulfillment of his office as an official church visitor made the beginning of his protest against manifest abuses. It was a dreadful lack of true sense of pastoral responsibility, in his opinion, that he found pastors who were ignorant even of the names of members of their congregations; and yet, according to the practice hitherto prevalent in the Lutheran Church, the pastor was presumed to be the spiritual confidant of all communicants. He drew an unfavorable contrast with the house-to-house pastoral visitation of the Reformed. He was exercised sorely concerning the carelessness current in the religious instruction of children, the decline of catechization and of sermons to children. His activity was directed to the endeavor to awaken pastors to the serious consideration of their own personal relations to Christ, and the momentous realities of their office. When the controversy was fairly started, extravagant statements were readily made on both sides. For we must not regard all the opponents, even of the early days of Pietism,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 335.

as justly chargeable with the neglect of which Spener complained. Such questions were discussed as whether any blessing can be derived from the ministry of the unregenerate; whether a minister regenerated in baptism could properly be called unregenerate; whether in conversion a change of knowledge precedes that of will; whether the insisting upon "a living faith" as the ground of justification does not bring some merit of faith into justification; etc.

Next to Spener, the greatest representative of Pietism was August Hermann Francke, who was born at Lübeck, March 22, 1663. The subject of deep religious impressions from his childhood, in his eleventh year he had vowed in his private prayers that he would devote his whole life to God's glory. His youth indicated no departure from that holy purpose. At Erfurt, at Kiel, at Hamburg, at Leipzig, he most diligently pursued the studies which would fit him for becoming a professor of theology. At Leipzig, with other students, he had formed a *Collegium Philobiblicum* to prosecute the neglected study of the exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, and Spener, who had just come to Dresden, had afforded them much help. But when in 1687 he went to Lüneburg, and was preparing to preach on John xx. 31, it seemed to him that he was destitute of the faith he was about to urge upon others. His whole past life was before him, he says, as from a high tower we may look over the whole city. For days he was in distress. But at last he rose from prayer, assured of the grace of God in Christ. "It seemed as though I had been all my past life in a dream, and only now had wakened." Lüneburg he regarded his spiritual, as Lübeck was his bodily, birthplace. His intimacy with Spener grew, at whose home in Dresden he spent some time as an inmate of his house, and whom he regarded as

his spiritual father. As a lecturer on biblical themes at Leipzig and preacher at Erfurt he soon engaged attention and awoke opposition.

But his proper work began when, in 1692, he went to Halle as professor of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and pastor. His work there in these two spheres would seem to have been sufficient to have consumed all his energies. Besides sermons thrice a week, there were daily services, catechetical instruction, meetings for edification, and private conferences almost daily. "His sermons," says Guericke, were "the outpouring of a heart thoroughly pervaded by the great, unchangeable, practical, fundamental truths of Christianity. It was always the sins of men, the grace of God in Christ, and the new holy life awakened by faith in the Redeemer to which all his sermons recurred, although in manifold form and application," so plain and simple, "that servants and even little children understood them."

As a professor Francke threw all his force upon the thorough grounding of his students in God's Word, breaking through conventional rules and remodeling the course according to this end. In addition to his public lectures he was delighted to be able to institute private lectures for the cursory and less formal treatment of the Old and New Testaments, as well as *Collegia Biblica*, in which students read and discussed portions of Holy Scripture. The university took its entire direction from him, his colleagues coöperating with most thorough harmony in subordinating the dogmatical to the practical Christian interests there urged.

But the institutions of benevolence which Francke established were more influential than even the university. They were a gradual growth. Poor children came to his door for alms. He invited them in, and with bodily gave

them also spiritual food, examining them and teaching them the catechism. He placed a contribution-box in his sitting-room for funds for the schooling of the children, with 1 John iii. 17 and 2 Cor. ix. 7 prominently inscribed upon it. Soon a student was engaged for two hours a day as tutor, and Francke surrendered a part of his study for the schoolroom. Parents who were able to pay asked to send their children; a room, and then another in a neighboring house, was taken. Then came others, who wanted their children's education to be more constantly and immediately under his supervision; and the founding of what was known as the Pedagogium was the result. More gifts came, and with them soon the Orphan House. Then money was contributed to give twenty-four students free boarding; and these students were utilized as teachers in the various institutions. A Latin school was erected in 1697. This all was the work of three years. The institutions were all popularly known under one name as "The Orphan House." In the year of Francke's death (1727), twenty-two hundred children, of whom one hundred and thirty-four were orphans, were in attendance, with eight inspectors, and one hundred and sixty-seven male and eight female teachers. The buildings rendered necessary for their accommodation made an imposing appearance. "The chief end in all these schools," said Francke, "is that, above all things, children may be brought to a living knowledge of God and Christ. All learning and all knowledge is folly if it do not have pure love to God and men as its foundation."

From this center streams of Christian activity proceeded in all directions. The students, teachers, and inspectors from these schools, as well as those who attended the university, proceeded from Halle in all directions, to diffuse the spirit they had acquired there. In 1705 Ziegenbalg

and Plutschau went forth as the pioneer missionaries to India, to be followed by others from Halle, greatest of whom were Schultze and Christian Frederick Schwartz (1726–98). Callenberg became active in efforts to convert Jews and Mohammedans. Zinzendorf inspired the Moravians with the zeal which was enkindled at Halle, in which he was ably supported by Bishop Spangenberg, also from Halle. Encouraged by Francke, his friend Baron von Canstein founded his Bible Institution at Halle, in 1710, the forerunner by nearly a century of the Bible societies of later times.[1] Halle sent its alumni to England, who, as pastors in the Royal Chapel and other Lutheran churches, exerted a wide influence upon the House of Hanover, that had succeeded to the English throne, and were prominent agents in many important Christian enterprises. From Halle, Boltzius and Gronau went to Georgia, and Muhlenberg, with a large number who followed him, to Pennsylvania. From the printing establishment in the Halle institutions were issued those full reports of the missions both in India and in America, so highly prized, even to-day, for their full accounts of the humble efforts made by heroic men to carry the knowledge of God to the ends of the earth.

Nor was this accomplished by Francke, any more than by Spener, by the surrender of any principle which the Lutheran Church had embodied in its confessions. "The symbolical books," it is said in a statement by the Halle faculty, "are held in all honor; and it would be difficult to find a university where they are more diligently read, referred to, quoted, and recommended to the students than at Halle."[2] "Spener and other true teachers showed in the most thorough and clearest way that they held with absolute firmness to them."[3]

[1] The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804.

[2] Lange, p. 447.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Who would not prefer to hear nothing of any decline from this prosperity? But as historical truth demands it, we let the story be told by a later Halle professor, the eminent Professor Tholuck, whom no one can charge with prejudice against the school of Spener and Francke.

"Pietism in Halle," says Professor Tholuck, "reached the summit of its power under Frederick William I. [1713–40], the soldier king with the Christian soldier's heart, the particular patron of the Halle theological faculty. Under him was issued in 1729 the edict which was promulgated anew in 1736, according to which no Lutheran theologian should hold a position in the Prussian state who had not studied at least two years in Halle, and received a testimonial from the Halle faculty of being in a state of grace. But its inner power did not correspond with its external prosperity. The one-sided peculiarities of the elder Francke were fully overcome by his mental originality and activity, and were compensated to a certain extent by associates like Breithaupt and Anton. In the younger Francke the type was still the same, but without the originality of spirit, while the place of Breithaupt and Anton could not be filled by a Joachim Lange and John George Knapp, and still less by the feeble souls alongside of them. How little the faculty could offer students desirous of learning, Semler's description in his autobiography shows; that the former harmony in the faculty was no longer present, the communications in Eckstein's 'Chronicle of Halle,' fifth part, prove. Where devotional exercises were reduced to method and made a work of law, the death instead of the life of piety was occasioned; in the second generation at Halle ascetic practices assumed a methodistic-legalistic character. As a fresh alongside of a dried-up stream, so Moravianism flourished alongside of Pietism, and withdrew a good part of its resources. In indignation at the legality, the excess-

ive urging to prayer, the demand of a penitential struggle, the condemning of matters of indifference, Zinzendorf put into verse the statement: 'The only people upon earth who are offensive to me and irritate me are the miserable Christians who allow no men but themselves to have the title of Pietists.' Gradually the nursery of piety was transformed into a nursery of rationalism. 'God's gifts descend not by inheritance;' this is proved also in the history of the Halle institutions. Every director had the right to chose his own successor; and yet with Ludwig Schultze and Niemeyer the direction passed gradually into the hands of rationalism. Under Baumgarten the interests of piety yielded to those of learning; and through Semler, Gruner, Nösselt, and Niemeyer, rationalism became the prevalent theology. Only in George Christian Knapp a branch of the old Halle school remained, but reserved and timid, and without any extensive influence. At my entrance in Halle in 1826 I found still two citizens who traced their faith to this one deceased advocate of the old school among the clergy."

This deterioration, however, was gradual. It can be traced accurately in its beginnings by the critical theologian, like Professor Tholuck, long before it became manifest in the practical life. But a knowledge of what was gradually undermining the influence of those institutions becomes of importance in helping us to appreciate some of the reasons for the opposition shown pastors from Halle, and to understand the antagonism between Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg. After the death of August Hermann Francke, in 1727, the directorship passed first to his son, Gotthelf August, who was succeeded in 1769 by John George Knapp, and in 1771 by Gottlieb Anastasius Freylinghausen. John Anastasius Freylinghausen, who succeded the elder Francke as pastor and was associated

with the younger Francke as co-director from 1727 to his death in 1739, was the most eminent and able of the later Halle representatives, and thoroughly lived and moved in the spirit which animated the institutions from their beginning. He participated in their foundation, by becoming the first inspector of the Pedagogium in 1694.

An important factor in diffusing the missionary zeal of Halle in general, as well as in the transplanting of German Lutheranism to America, is found in the Lutheran churches in London. During the eighteenth century there were six German Lutheran churches there; but their influence is not to be estimated by their number. The kings of England were, at the same time, electors of Lutheran Hanover, providing for the spiritual care of their subjects, in England through the archbishops and bishops of the realm, and in Hanover through the Lutheran Consistorium. The German colony in London which had existed for four or five centuries before was augmented by persons of influence attracted thither by the nearer relations of the two countries. But before the accession of the House of Hanover, in 1714, the Lutheran influence had been strengthened by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne (1702–14).

Trinity Lutheran Church, in Trinity Lane, had once been a Swedish Church, but from the year 1618 had fallen into the possession of Germans from Hamburg, and was acknowledged as the mother-church. At the close of the century it was on the decline, ascribed to the neglect of the Congregational school.

St. Mary's Church in the Savoy, generally known as the Savoy Chapel, from the district in which it stood, was founded in 1692, and was the most flourishing of the congregations. Here the best German families in London had their spiritual home. Its burial-ground was conse-

crated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1721. It received generous gifts from royalty and others in high places. Sir William Chambers was the architect of the church built in 1768.

Still more conspicuous, because of its being very exclusive, was the German Court Chapel at St. James's, endowed by Prince George of Denmark, attended chiefly by Hanover officials and German persons of rank visiting London. The chapel was under the general supervision of the Bishop of London, and a translation of the Book of Common Prayer was used with the Halle hymn-book in the services.

Besides these, there were St. George's Church in Goodmansfields, Zion's Church in Brown's Lane, Spitalfields, and in 1788 "an ephemeral" German "Philadelphia Church" in Whitechapel.

Two pastors of the German Court Chapel were especially interested in the spiritual wants of the Lutherans in America. A. W. Böhme was an alumnus of Halle, whose course must have corresponded almost exactly with that of Justus Falckner, since he was a student there from 1693 to 1698. He was a "table-inspector" at the Orphan House. He went to England in 1701 to become tutor in several German families, and in 1705 was appointed pastor by Prince George, remaining such until his death, at the age of forty-nine, in 1722. He was a writer of unwearied activity, and translated Arndt's "True Christianity" and "Paradise-Garden," besides a number of the writings of Francke, the "Reports" of the Orphan House at Halle and of the missions in India into English. He wrote a "History of the Reformation in England." It was through his intercession that Queen Anne showed marked kindness to the Palatinates, and provided for them a home in America. The same year she endowed a "Free Table" in the Halle

Orphan House. When John Conrad Weiser visited England in the interests of the settlement at Schoharie, both Böhme and Pastor Ruperti of the Savoy Church championed his cause. From good motives he sent Van Dieren to America as a colporteur. Among his writings we find: "Admonition to the Scattered Palatinates and Other Germans in Pennsylvania, New York, Carolina, and Other American Provinces."[1]

A still more active friend of the emigrants to America was Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, the successor of Böhme, a Pomeranian, born in 1694, who, after a pastorate in Hanover, was pastor at the Royal Chapel from 1722 to 1776. He is said to have been an incessant reader of the writings of Spener. The missions in India engaged his constant attention and support. They had no more zealous and influential friend. In 1734 his appeal on behalf of the spiritual interests of the Germans in Pennsylvania was widely circulated throughout Germany. With Urlsperger, he coöperated in exciting the interest of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in the Salzburgers, and aiding them to America. It was through him that Muhlenberg was called. To the end of his life, in 1777, he took the deepest interest in the growing Lutheran Church in America, and by his extensive correspondence and wide influence contributed much to its permanent establishment and welfare.

For a short time Dr. Samuel Urlsperger was connected with the same chapel (it always had two pastors) previous to his call to Augsburg and the important work there accomplished for the Salzburgers. Urlsperger had met Böhme in 1709 on a trip, and went to England the succeeding year, when twenty-five years old. There he be-

[1] Jöcher's "Allegemeines Gelehrten Lexicon," vol. i., p. 1170.

came a member of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which he afterward interested in the transportation and assistance of the Salzburgers. The names of Drs. Gerdes and Kräuter of Trinity Church also appear in the Halle "Reports" as active friends of the congregations in America. Toward the close of the eighteenth century (1770) Dr. J. C. Velthusen was one of the court-preachers. Afterward, as professor and superintendent at Helmstädt, he became to the Lutherans of North Carolina what Ziegenhagen was to those of Pennsylvania and Urlsperger to those of Georgia, securing for them important aid from the same society that had aided the Salzburgers.

Besides serving as channels whereby the wants of the Lutherans in America became known and relieved, the London Lutheran churches became models for the organization of Lutheran congregations in America. The reasons were obvious. They were Lutheran congregations officially approved by the British Government. Even the German Reformed Church in Philadelphia proposed in 1764 to the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London to use "the liturgy and service of the Church of England, or a translation thereof in the German, as used *in the King's German Chapel.*" [1]

A similar reason determined its adoption by the Salzburgers in Georgia, acting under the auspices of the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.[2] When it is remembered that the Book of Common Prayer was compiled chiefly from Lutheran sources, and that in the Sunday service, except the order for the communion,

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new edition, p. 23.

2 See entry of Boltzius, March 19 and 23, 1734, in "Urlspergerische Nachrichten."

there are no divergences from Lutheran principles, there was not as much confusion in this plan as might at first appear. It is difficult, however, to understand how the order for the communion was adopted by Lutheran congregations.

Muhlenberg has left on record the statement that he and Brunnholtz and Handschuh prepared the first liturgy for the Pennsylvania congregations after the model of that found in the order for the Savoy congregation in London.[1] This order declares in the preface [2] that it is mostly a translation of the order in use in Amsterdam, and that no change was made except for urgent reasons. This, however, does not apply to the liturgical portion. The Amsterdam church organization influenced that of our churches in two ways: first, through the Dutch churches of New York; and secondly, through the German churches of London. A fundamental error in the organization of the Savoy congregation severely criticised by one of its own pastors, was that the elders, "in violation of all the fundamental principles of Protestant church polity, the custom of all well-ordered churches, and all prudence, excluded their preacher from all participation in the external affairs of the church." [3] The congregation was governed by a council of twelve elders, six of whom were elected annually.

Two societies have already been mentioned which from England aided very materially in the beginnings of the Lutheran Church in America. Both were founded by Rev. Dr. Nicholas Bray, a clergyman of the Church of England who had visited America, under the appointment of the Bishop of London, for the purpose of investigating

[1] Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 184.

[2] We have two copies of the "Kirchenordnung" of St. Mary's Church, Savoy, before us, as we write, one of 1718 and the other of 1743.

[3] Burkhardt, p. 94.

the spiritual condition of the colonies. The older was the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, whose familiar initials, S. P. C. K., are read on the books which it still publishes. It was founded in 1698, primarily as a book and tract society. It had in view the establishment of parochial libraries in America, of catechetical libraries in England, and the general distribution of good books. It provided for the founding and care of schools upon church principles, the teaching of paupers in the workhouses, and especially their instruction in the catechism. Thence it extended its sphere to the improvement of prisons. It finally was occupied also with schemes for the conversion of Quakers and Romanists. Its members were of two classes, active and corresponding; among the latter were not only members of the Church of England, but also prominent pastors and professors of both the Lutheran and Reformed churches on the Continent. It entered heartily into the support of the Lutheran missions in India, after they had passed out of the control of the Danes, furnishing the missionaries with money, a printing-press, and printing materials, and finally undertaking through them an extension of missionary work. It had a close connection and thorough understanding with the authorities at Halle, with whom they were probably brought into close relations through the Lutheran pastors in London.

The other was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, for supplying ministers and missionaries in the English colonies. This society supported most of the rectors of the congregations in America that afterward became the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and, as we have seen, gave important assistance to the Swedish pastors. The two societies are often confounded, as the boundary between their spheres does not seem to have been always

accurately observed. The Lutheran Church in America should always hold in grateful remembrance the services thus rendered, as she also expects the English Church to acknowledge the debt she owes to the Lutherans of the sixteenth century. The benefits of earnest Christian activity cannot be confined within the particular communion in which they start, but flow forth to others, to return with increased blessing. Were like generosity shown the Lutheran Church in America in later days in its efforts to grapple with the great home-missionary problem before it, in connection with the hundreds of thousands of Lutheran emigrants for whom it is its duty to care, the results would be far greater than by any other mode of attempting to hold them for Christ and his church.

It is an interesting fact that among other societies whose organization was suggested by the good work done by these two English organizations was the Swedish Society *pro fide et Christianismo*, founded in 1711.[1] Among the corresponding members, whose duty it was to report once a year concerning the condition of the church where they lived, noteworthy conversions, deaths of godly persons, and edifying books published, we find in 1784 some strange combinations. On one page are Ernesti, Wesley, and Götze; on another, Muhlenberg, Zollikofer, and Richard Peters. This confusion belongs, however, to a later period.

We can do no more than merely allude here to negotiations which were in progress during the first decade of the eighteenth century, at the suggestion of the philosopher Leibnitz and the court-preacher Jablonski at Berlin, who had been consecrated a Moravian bishop, and was a grandson of Comenius, for the union of the Protestant Church in Germany with the Church of England. This project was warmly supported by Frederick I. of Prussia and

[1] See account in "A. H. E." (N. T.), vol. ii., p. 181; vol. x., p. 60.

Queen Anne, and was favored by Archbishop Sharp of Canterbury. It included the scheme of the introduction of the hierarchy, the king having already named Von Sanden and Ursinus, another of his court-preachers, as bishops. The Book of Common Prayer was translated into German and published in 1704, with a view to its introduction into the Royal Chapel at Berlin. Even the time was appointed, viz., the first Sunday in Advent. But an unfortunate decision of the Helmstädt Faculty, that it would not be a sin for a Protestant princess to become a Roman Catholic in order to marry a prince of that faith, justly offended the archbishop, and interrupted the negotiations. In 1710 they were resumed, but before anything could be accomplished, the deaths of the King of Prussia, the Queen of England, and the Archbishop of Canterbury entirely frustrated them.[1] They are mentioned here as one of the indications of the warm sympathy which subsisted in Europe between the two churches, even apart from their closer connection within one country, and as one of the factors explaining the ease with which Lutherans in America were often content with regarding the English Church as their own, translated into another language.

[1] Hassencamp, in Walch, vol. ii., pp. 191–214.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE SALZBURGERS AND THE SALZBURG COLONY IN GEORGIA.

GERMAN emigration to the Carolinas and Georgia was prepared for by the explorations of the German, John Lederer, commissioned by Governor Berkeley of Virginia to explore the lands south and west of the James River in 1669 and 1670. The colony of Palatinates and Swiss who settled Newbern (New Berne), N. C., in 1710, lost sixty of their number the next year by an Indian massacre. Their leader, Baron de Graffenreid, shortly afterward abandoned them, and left them in sore distress by invalidating their titles to the land. Their religious history has not been traced. There were German Lutherans in Charleston when the Salzburgers arrived, whose presence was due probably to Queen Anne's donation of land in South Carolina for Palatinate refugees.[1] In the Swiss colony which settled Purrysburg, S. C., in 1732, there were Lutherans, who were afterward spiritually cared for by the Salzburgers.[2]

But the foundation of the Lutheran Church in the South was laid by the emigrants we have just mentioned. The history of their persecutions, their expulsion from home, their wanderings through Germany, their coming to America, is one of the most romantic and inspiring chapters in church history. It belongs not simply to the Lutheran Church, but is an honor to our country, and a priceless

[1] Bernheim, p. 82. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 88 sqq.

heritage of our common Christianity. A feeble handful it was that crossed the sea. They have not grown to any large proportions; but the spiritual influences which they transmitted are felt far and wide throughout the Christian world.

For two hundred years the attempt had been made to suppress the Lutheran faith in the duchy of Salzburg. But the seed planted in the sixteenth century by Paul Speratus and Stephen Agricola continued to grow and to bring forth fruit notwithstanding its persecution. In the beginning of the seventeenth century it threatened to become a mighty popular movement, that would gain the supremacy. The banishments and confiscations of 1588 were revived in 1614, forcing the braver into exile, and the more timid into silence and retirement, in the hope of better times. All through the period of the Thirty Years' War the Salzburg Lutherans enjoyed peace by calmly submitting to all external regulations. The authorities knew little of the private influences that were growing, the worship in cellars and in mountain-fastnesses, the careful evangelical training which children were receiving, the Bibles and devotional works that were in circulation. When, at last, a congregation of "secret Lutherans" was discovered at Tefferegenthal in 1683, which had lived and grown by these means, two of their leaders were imprisoned for months, and at last compelled to prepare a public confession of their faith. The result was, that, in 1684, all Lutheran books that could be found were burned, and all Lutherans given the alternative of renunciation of their faith, or banishment, with the loss of their property and the surrender of their children. Over one thousand were banished, and they lost over six hundred children. The indignation which was generally aroused throughout Europe at this direct violation of the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia was answered by the

claim that the Salzburgers were neither Lutheran nor Reformed, and therefore could not claim its protection.

The persecution was suddenly terminated by the death of the archbishop. Joseph Schaitberger, one of the two leaders who had been imprisoned, and the composer of the Confession of the Salzburgers, from his exile in Nüremberg continued to comfort and strengthen those who remained in Salzburg by numerous publications which he wrote and sent among them. Schaitberger himself had lost his children, who were educated to regard him a heretic, while he labored for the rest of his life amidst the most extreme poverty. Even more influential among his countrymen than his letters and devotional books were the hymns which he composed and sent among them, and which not only were especially adapted to their sad lot, but also reflect most clearly the experience and circumstances of the author. He lived to see the final expulsion of those for whom he labored, and died in 1733.

The crisis came with the accession of Leopold Anton, Count of Firmian, to the archbishopric in 1728. "He would drive the heretics out of the country," he is reported as saying, "even though thorns and thistles should grow upon the fields." The first attempts at persecution, instead of intimidating, only aroused the courage of the oppressed. They knew how to appeal for redress to the evangelical estates, convened at the not far distant Regensburg. The archbishop undertook an enrollment. Over twenty thousand joyfully entered their names as Lutherans. The "covenant of salt" they made at Swazach was followed not only by the denial of all rights of burial and marriage and baptism, but by the quartering upon evangelical families of Austrian soldiers, and the imprisonment of those who participated in their devotional meetings. In vain the evangelical estates interceded for the appointment of a

commission, composed of both Protestants and Catholics, to adjust the differences.

Meanwhile an embassy to the court of Berlin was successful. The King of Prussia, Frederick William I., promised to receive all who, because of their faith, were compelled to leave their homes. But before this news was promulgated, "the Emigration Patent" of October 31, 1731, had already commanded all Protestants to leave Salzburg, upon the charge of having conspired against the Catholic religion, in the "covenant of salt." Those without property were to leave within three days; those having property were allowed from one month to three to dispose of it. Without regard to the rigors of the rapidly approaching winter, they were forced away, going whither they knew not. They only knew that, besides their God, they had a warm friend in the King of Prussia. But he knew not in the beginning what he had undertaken. The few thousand on which he had counted at the beginning amounted to over fourteen thousand who passed through Berlin only, not to mention others who took a different route.

But besides the king, the hearts of the people were deeply stirred by the march of the exiles, which was soon converted almost into a triumphal procession. A writer of the same century describes it graphically:

"The beginning occurred at the end of the year 1731, in the severe winter. Memmingen, Weilheim, Kaufbeuren, Augsburg, Kempten, Ulm, were the first evangelical places which they entered. In the following year they went mostly through Swabia, Franconia, Thuringia, Saxony, and Brandenburg. They were everywhere received most cordially, and treated most generously. In the cities they were met by the magistrates, the clergy, the schools, and the entire body of citizens They were received by the

preachers with consolatory and edifying discourses as they walked two by two through the cities, or, where time allowed, they were conducted to the churches amidst the ringing of all the bells and with appropriate music. What occurred in the cities was repeated in the villages. The emigrants sang with joyful voice as they entered and as they departed. Their strange accent rendered their strains all the more pathetic, so that many a heart was touched and opened to bestow kind gifts."[1]

Among the hymns they sang was first of all Luther's "Ein feste Berg ist unser Gott."

Take they then our life,
Goods, fame, child, and wife;
When their worst is done,
They yet have nothing won,
The kingdom ours remaineth.

Next to this came what was peculiarly their own hymn, the composition of their leader, Schaitberger, the voice of triumphant faith rising above the severe conflicts through which he passed:

An exile poor, and nothing more,
This is my sole profession;
Banished from home, of God's pure Word
To make a clear confession.

O Jesus mine, I know full well
This is the way thou wentest.
Thy steps we'll follow, dearest Lord,
And bear what thou hast sent us.

Thy precious Name I have confessed,
Thy Love dispels all terror,
Though lips loud speak, and plots be laid
To slay me for my error.

[1] "A. H. E." (N. T.), vol. ix. (1783), p. 45.

Though all I have be torn away,
I still possess this treasure:
God dwells with me; and his pure faith
Is wealth above all measure.

God! as thou wilt, then; here am I,
With thee to stay forever.
Thy will is mine, and I am thine;
Nothing from thee shall sever.

So forth I go from my dear home.
O Lord, the tears are starting;
As through strange streets I press my way,
I think of the sad parting.

A country, Lord, I ask of thee,
Where I thy Word may cherish,
Where, day and night, within my heart
The fruits of faith may flourish.

And though within this vale of tears
The humblest lot be given,
A better dwelling God provides
Before his throne in heaven.

Koch, in his "Geschichte des Kirchenlieds," narrates that in Berlin, Frankfort, and Darmstadt they were welcomed by Decius' paraphrase of the "Gloria in Excelsis," to which they responded in the above hymn. Other hymns they sang on their march were: "Why troublest thou thyself, my heart?"; "What our Father does is well"; "My God, I leave to thee my ways"; "From God I ne'er shall sever."

One band of exiles the king met outside of Berlin, and asked them to sing a favorite hymn, which he then started, and in which the whole multitude of exiles and spectators joined with heart and soul:

On God, my faithful God,
I trust in every need.

"A living picture was presented of the departure of the children of Israel out of Egypt. There were venerable men, with white locks, bent backs, and with trembling limbs, among others in the prime of life and still others in the bloom of youth; infirm old women, and alongside of them strong and active wives, young maidens, and fair girls; tender children following their fathers or led by the hand with quick steps, or infants resting in their mothers' arms, or hanging about their fathers' necks; wagons carrying the baggage, the most aged, the sick, and the babes who had but lately seen the light. We would naturally expect that these homeless ones would fill the country through which they would pass with tears and lamentations; but while the cheeks of many who received them were moistened, and deep sighs showed their sympathy, the bands of exiles went forth in triumph, and the thought of their affliction was relieved by their trust in God, that, even on a foreign soil, and under another heaven, and in a land which they had not seen with their eyes, and in a way as yet entirely unknown, they would find an abiding-place and a peaceful dwelling."[1]

This description was written while witnesses of these scenes were still alive.

The story as retold is ever awakening new interest. A late bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania (Right Rev. William Bacon Stevens) has eloquently said: "Marshaled under no ensigns but the banners of the cross, led by no chieftains but their spiritual pastors, armed with no weapons but their Bibles and hymn-books, they journeyed on, everywhere singing pæans, not of military victory, but of praise and thanksgiving to Him who, though they were cast out and oppressed, had yet made them more than conquerors."[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 45–47.

[2] "History of Georgia" (New York, 1847), p. 105.

The simple piety of the people was manifested in the king's interview with a boy of fourteen, who had left his Catholic parents in Salzburg to accompany the exiles. The king asked him how he was induced to leave his parents, and received the answer, "'He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.'" "But how can you do without them?" Again came the answer, "'When my father and mother forsake me, the Lord will take me up.'"

Goethe has drawn the plot of his "Hermann and Dorothea" from an incident in their experience.

Of the emigrants, over twenty thousand were permanently settled in Germany, mostly in Lithuania, the expense to the King of Prussia amounting to over a million of thalers.

Dr. Samuel Urlsperger, pastor of St. Anna's Church, Augsburg, wished to be of some special service to the Salzburgers. The self-denials and sufferings of the still surviving Schaitberger moved him. He wrote an account of them, together with the story of the emigration, for his friends in England. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge came to his assistance in a very important way. While it did not regard itself justified in using its own proper funds for the purpose, it became the almoner of extensive contributions collected all over Europe for sending some of the exiles to America. It thus provided for the carrying of fifty families to Georgia for the new colony that was being founded by General Oglethorpe.

The story of their voyage to America has been very comprehensively told in a passage in Bancroft's "History of the United States,"[1] that in pathos is excelled by nothing that he has written:

"When the Roman Catholic archbishop who was the ruler of Salzburg with merciless bigotry drove out of his dominions the Lutherans whom horrid tortures and relent-

[1] Revised edition (1883), vol. ii., pp. 288 sqq.

less persecution could not force to renounce their Protestant faith, Frederick William I. of Prussia planted a part of them on freeholds in his kingdom; others, on the invitation of the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel, prepared to emigrate to the Savannah. A free passage; provisions in Georgia for a whole season; land for themselves and their children, free for ten years, then to be held for a small quit-rent; the privileges of native Englishmen; freedom of worship—these were the promises made, accepted, and honorably fulfilled. On the last day of October, 1733, 'the evangelical community,' well supplied with Bibles and hymn-books, catechisms and books of devotion, conveying in one wagon their few chattels, in two other covered ones their feebler companions and especially their little ones, after a discourse and prayer and benedictions, cheerfully, and in the name of God, began their pilgrimage. History need not stop to tell what charities cheered them on their journey, what towns were closed against them by Roman Catholic magistrates, or how they entered Frankfort on the Main two by two in cheerful procession, singing spiritual songs. As they floated down the Main, and between the castled crags, the vineyards, and the white-walled towns that adorn the banks of the Rhine, their conversation, amid hymns and prayers, was of justification and of sanctification and of standing fast in the Lord. At Rotterdam they were joined by two preachers, Boltzius and Gronau, both disciplined in charity at the Orphan House in Halle.

"A passage of six days carried them from Rotterdam to Dover, where several of the trustees visited them, and provided considerately for their wants. In January, 1734, they set sail for their new homes. The majesty of the ocean quickened their sense of God's omnipotence and wisdom; and, as they lost sight of land, they broke out

into a hymn to his glory. The setting sun, after a calm, so kindled the sea and the sky, that words could not express their rapture, and they cried out, 'How lovely the creation! How infinitely lovely the Creator!' When the wind was adverse they prayed; and, as it changed, one opened his mind to the other on the power of prayer, even the prayer 'of a man subject to like passions as we are.' A devout listener confessed himself to be an unconverted man; and they reminded him of the promise to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at the Word. As they sailed pleasantly with a favoring breeze, at the hour of evening prayer they made a covenant with each other, like Jacob of old, and resolved by the grace of Christ to cast all strange gods into the depths of the sea. In February a storm grew so high that not a sail could be set; and they raised their voices in prayer and song amid the tempest, for to love the Lord Jesus as a brother gave consolation. At Charleston, Oglethorpe, on the 18th of March, 1734, bade them welcome; and in five days more the wayfarers, whose home was beyond the skies, pitched their tents near Savannah.

"It remained to select for them a residence. To cheer their principal men as they toiled through the forest and across brooks, Oglethorpe, having provided horses, joined the party. By the aid of blazed trees and Indian guides he made his way through morasses; a fallen tree served as a bridge over a stream, which the horses swam; at night he encamped with them abroad around a fire, and shared every fatigue, till the spot for their village was chosen, and, like the rivulet which formed its border, was called Ebenezer. There they built their dwellings, and there resolved to raise a column of stone in token of gratitude to God, whose providence had brought them safely to the ends of the earth."

The King of England, George II., provided for the Georgia colonists a special commissioner, who was to see that all their rights were granted. Baron Philip George Frederick von Reck was a young nobleman, then twenty-three years old, from the kingdom of Hanover, as the king preferred to intrust their interests to a German rather than to an English subject.

The baron's thorough sympathy with them was strengthened by his deep religious character, which is manifest, although unostentatiously, in his published diaries. Shortly before the close of his life, and after having been a state-counselor, he edited an edition of Luther's "Sermons on the Gospels and Epistles." After seeing the Salzburgers established in their new home, he made an extensive tour along the Atlantic coast, in which he gathered together the Lutherans of Philadelphia on Sunday, and edified them as he was able, and visited New Haven, whose "Academy," with three professors and eighty students, living at an expense of six shillings a week, he described. He returned to Germany to conduct "the third transportation" to America in 1736, and the succeeding year sailed back again, to remain in Germany permanently.

Urlsperger and Francke had exercised great forethought in the selection of the spiritual guides of this devout, but, for the most part, ignorant, people. They were found in John Martin Boltzius, who had been inspector of the Latin school at Halle, and Israel Christian Gronau, another of the Halle teachers. Their salaries and those of their successors were provided from funds procured through Urlsperger, and forwarded through the S. P. C. K. Besides the ties of a spiritual character that bound them to these strange people, another was added when before long they married two sisters, daughters of a poor widow among the Salzburgers. Boltzius became not only the spiritual leader,

but, throughout the most of his career, the business head of the colony.

The emigrants who arrived on the "Purisburg," March 11, 1734, were only the advance-guard. Early in 1735 the "Prince of Wales" brought fifty-seven more. In February, 1736, the "Simonds" brought Von Reck's second charge of one hundred and fifty Salzburgers, and with them the two Wesleys and Bishop Nitzschmann with twenty-seven Moravians. A fourth band, consisting of sixty-three persons, arrived in 1741. Still others came individually or in families; as we know that Muhlenberg had a Salzburg family among his companions across the Atlantic in 1742.

As the two pastors were journeying toward America, they comforted themselves and each other with such texts as Joshua i. 2: "Arise, and go over this Jordan, thou, and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them"; Isaiah xliii. 2: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee"; Isaiah xlix. 10: "He that hath mercy on them shall lead them, even by the springs of waters shall he guide them"; Psalm lxii. 8: "Trust in him at all times; ye people, pour out your heart before him: God is a refuge for us." So when they had finished their voyage and reached the Savannah River, they noted the appropriateness of the lessons for *Reminiscere* Sunday, and determined henceforth to keep that Sunday as a memorial: "It was really edifying to us that we came to the borders of the promised land this day, when, as we are taught by its lessons from the Gospel, Jesus came to the seacoast after he had endured persecution and rejection by his countrymen."

Ebenezer, their new home, was twenty-five miles up the Savannah River. Those familiar with the locality in recent

times have considerable difficulty in reconciling the glowing, poetically colored descriptions of the enthusiastic young baron with their knowledge of the same scenes.[1] They were liberally treated with the gift of three lots for each family, one in the town for a home, another beyond the town for a garden, and a third for more extensive agricultural purposes—fifty acres in all. But an experience of two years proved that the location was as unhealthful as it was inconvenient, and thus a removal to another site six miles eastward was necessary. Industry, thrift, and the able management of their senior pastor, and, above all, the blessing of the Lord, brought to them prosperity. They enjoyed the fulfillment of the promise of the "hundredfold" to those who, for Christ's name, leave all that they have. They became very successful in the raising of silk, which reached, in 1754, if the report be correct, what seems the almost extravagant amount of four thousand pounds.[2] The manufacture of indigo and that of wooden ware were profitable sources of income. The raising of cotton was also successfully undertaken, but was less remunerative, because modern machinery to remove the seeds was not in their possession. It would be inconsistent with historical justice to claim for them the learning which one might infer from the following reference of Professor McMaster: "In the library were books written in thirteen tongues. Nowhere else in the country could be seen so fine a collection of works in Coptic, in Arabic, in Hebrew, in Chaldaic."[3]

But their religious development is the subject of the deepest interest. "If ever pastors had their whole hearts centered on the spiritual welfare of their people, this seems to have been the case at Ebenezer. Their first reports testify to the great patience and contentment of their hearers in all their

[1] Strobel, p. 66. [2] "A. H. E.," vol. xx., p. 365.
[3] McMaster, vol. ii., p. 3.

sufferings, their peculiar delight in the Word of God, their insatiable desire to hear it daily, their zealous attention to prayer, and the good proofs of their conversion and of their growth in faith and godliness."[1] As time advances their hopes are not disappointed. They grieve over serious faults in the lives of their parishioners; they are compelled at times to administer severe discipline. But these they faithfully note as exceptional cases. They almost disappear in the joy with which the pastors trace the fruits of the Word, at the bedsides of the sick and dying, in the trials even of little children, and in the Christian spirit shown in the forgiveness of wrongs.[2] We can enter into the sick-room and see the stricken one cheerfully preparing for death by reading, during Passion Week, the story of her Saviour's suffering.[3] Or we may share the surprise of the pastor himself as he finds a devoted husband singing to his sinking wife a hymn of Schaitberger, so unfamiliar to him, but yet so rich in the comfort of the gospel, that he enters it in full on his journal (September 10, 1735).[4]

My Jesus in me taketh pleasure,
I was baptized at his command.
Apparelled thus in Christ, my treasure,
Delivered thus from death's dread hand,
Joyful and confident I sing,
Jesus doth my salvation bring.

Thank God, my race hath almost ended,
The crisis of the strife is o'er;
Jesus to me his hands extendeth,
I shall be with him evermore.
Therefore, through Jesus' blood I pray,
Grant me a blessed dying day.

[1] "A. H. E.," vol. ii., p. 938. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. xvi., p. 896.
[3] Strobel, p. 68.
[4] The original has ten stanzas. "Urlspergerische Nachrichten," vol. ii., p. 415.

On Christ, by faith, my soul is living;
In Christ, by faith, I, fearless, die.
My Jesus always me is giving
What doth my every want supply.
And so I die with Jesus here,
That I may live with Jesus there.

Thus these simple, faithful people surprised and preached to their pastors. We can go to one of the congregations when the pastor is absent, and hear the services proceeding as in his presence, except that the reading of one of the sermons of Spener on the gospel or epistle for the day takes the place of the pastor's own discourse; or when he is present, and see them with Bibles in hand follow his reading of the lessons. We go to the schools, and learn that the Salzburg children are enjoying the instructions of those who at Halle have trained able and learned men for influence, and that often, and for long periods, there are no other teachers. The hymns to be sung on Sunday are sung every day of the preceding week in the school. Everything suggests the patriarchal period, with the senior pastor as the father of the one family of families. An account published at Charleston in 1741 says of them: "New Ebenezer consists of about one hundred persons under the government of Mr. Boltzius, their pastor; they live and labor in a kind of community, and never commix or associate with strangers."[1]

In the town, besides the three Sunday services, there was a *Betstunde* (vesper service) every evening, "after the work and supper were over." On the plantations there were services with sermons every fortnight, and twice during the week. For a while every two months one of the pastors preached in Savannah. For a while they also administered the sacraments to the Germans at Purrysburg,

[1] "A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia," by Pat. Tailfer, M.D., etc. (Charleston, S. C., 1741), p. 72.

S. C. The sermons were preached in the clearest and simplest way, so that every hearer would have not only the divisions but the subdivisions deeply impressed upon his mind.

In 1736 Boltzius gives an account of his method of teaching the catechism. It was the subject of explanation at the daily evening service. The preacher inculcated it for the first time upon the young, and refreshed the minds of adults. He speaks of the great advantage of this above weekly catechetical instruction, where one part is forgotten before what immediately follows it is considered, and notes the deep interest of the people, who give the same attendance on these exercises as is accorded the regular Sunday services. He was always careful to limit the entire service to one half-hour.

"Last evening," he writes, "we reviewed the seventh and catechised upon the eighth commandment. The consciences of some in the congregation were deeply moved. In the exposition of the commandments to simple hearers we find it highly necessary to indicate the sins forbidden therein, and the virtues enjoined not only generally, but they must be clearly specified according to the circumstances of the hearers."

Another entry runs: "One of those who was recently comforted by his confession of several sins against the seventh commandment brought me some money to-day, to restore a part of his unrighteous gain."

When the catechism was finished, then the daily evening service centered around a course of simple lectures on biblical history, or upon the Psalms. At a later period the reports of the Halle missionaries in India were commented upon, with the lessons taught by their work. He showed how the divine blessing proved the legitimacy of their call. He dwelt upon the cordial unity of the missionaries, their

unwearied diligence, their wisdom and clear judgment shown in so many difficult cases, their remarkable patience and endurance in sorrow, their great care in the administration of the sacraments, their insatiable thirst for the salvation of all men in their neighborhood, their condescension to the poorest and humblest, their admirably clear, full, and direct teaching of the way of salvation through Christ, their edifying mode of reviewing their sermons and questioning the converts upon them, their excellent schools, their Christian economy in the use of missionary funds, their diligent visitation of the sick and dying, their Christian intercourse, not only with one another, but with the brethren at a distance, their prayer, and study of God's Word.[1]

When the first infant baptism occurred the children of the parish were called to the font and the significance of their baptism explained to them. Public sins were publicly reprimanded, even when the pastor was assured of the penitence of those who were guilty. Where men deceived him with their professions of repentance they were declared, in the daily assembly, to be corrupt and withered branches, that could not be admitted to the Holy Supper, or any other holy act, until they would present more satisfactory evidence of a holy life. The wedding of a couple who had sinned against each other was celebrated only after they had made public confession of their wrong before the whole congregation, had heard their pastor's severe arraignment of such offenses as bringing down God's just wrath, and the prayers of the whole assembly had been offered for their forgiveness. A married couple had sinned. The sin was announced at the close of his sermon, for the following reasons:

1. That the hearers may know that God is a holy God, and, though he overlooks godless ways for a long time, yet that they will not always escape

[1] "Urlspergerische Nachrichten," August 6, 1750.

unknown and unpunished. 2. That godly hearers may pray to God for these poor persons. 3. That they may pray also for us, that God may grant us wisdom sufficient for all such difficult cases.[1]

The religious books that were provided for the people at Ebenezer are known. Prominent among them were the "Passion Sermons" and hymns of Ziegenhagen, in many copies; his "Exposition of the Lord's Prayer"; over one hundred copies of the Wernigeröde hymn-book of 818 hymns; copies for every house of the hymn "Jesus sinners doth receive," an especial favorite of Boltzius, which was frequently used in the daily evening service; and the learned controversial works, Walch's "Introduction to Religious Controversies," in both series, viz., that "concerning the controversies within" and that "concerning those without" the Lutheran Church, which "they regarded indispensable in a neighborhood abounding in sects of all kinds."[2]

From the very first it was Boltzius' great desire to make an effort to convert to Christianity some of the neighboring eight thousand Cherokees. His letters, from time to time, lament how the pressure of other occupations has prevented him from learning their language. He speaks of the friendly disposition and superior qualities of those in the neighborhood. Gronau was surprised to find an English missionary attempting to teach some Indian children from a book which seemed to him, from a short distance, to be written in Greek letters.[3]

The Salzburgers were determined opponents of the slave trade, and of slavery itself. Boltzius regarded the institution as introducing a heathenism into America worse than that of the Indians, and as a great injustice to white laborers.

1 "Urlspergerische Nachrichten," under date of March 19, 1734; January 13, 18, 24, February 4, 1736; February 3 and May 18, 1740.

2 "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. xx., p. 356.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 1088.

Nevertheless, in the absence of suitable white laborers he found it expedient to purchase slaves, and reconciled himself to it by the hope that he would be able to bring them from heathenism to Christianity. He expresses his joy when his first purchase proved to be "a Catholic Christian." The slaves thus purchased had complete freedom from labor on Sundays and other church festivals, and it was understood that no labor would be required which would prevent their attendance upon any week-day service. It was one of his plans to buy a large number of young children and place them in the hands of thoroughly trustworthy Salzburgers for religious instruction. He baptized a number of children. One of the pastors visited a sick slave-child whom he had baptized, and, praying by the bedside, instructed the woman to whom the slave belonged "to become as this child."[1] Boltzius was interested in a night-school for negro children in Savannah, and, while criticising its defective methods, he expressed his conviction that the children were equal to Europeans in mental ability.[2]

Faithful to the example of Halle, and by the provision furnished by Dr. Urlsperger, an Orphans' Home was erected in the fall of 1737, and occupied the succeeding January. The orphans admitted in the beginning consisted of three boys and eight girls. In this building the school was held, not only for the village, but also for German children from other places. Until a suitable church building was provided it was the place where the congregation worshiped.

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xx., p. 363 sq. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 375.

CHAPTER X.

THE SALZBURGERS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS.

THE Salzburgers did not live in complete isolation; none can, however intent they may be to concentrate their energies entirely upon the most humble sphere to which God has appointed them. On February 5, 1736, a vessel cast anchor on Tybee Island in the Savannah River, bringing with it a reinforcement of Salzburgers to the new colony, a Moravian bishop, David Nitzschmann, with a small band of adherents, and three young Englishmen, two of whom were destined to leave names in the history of English Protestantism that will never be forgotten, and influences more lasting than those of great military heroes. One was John Wesley, then a young clergyman of the Church of England, fresh from Lincoln College, Oxford, with convictions far more in sympathy with the Tractarianism which a century later proceeded from that university than with the Methodism of which he shortly afterward became the founder and great leader. In beginning the journal of his voyage he says, in the second sentence: "Our end in leaving our native country was to save our souls and live wholly to the glory of God." His more immediate purpose was to become a missionary to the Indians, although he seems then to have had the eternal welfare of the heathen less at heart than an ascetic course of self-denial to recommend himself to God's favor. During the voyage he confined himself, as an act of self-denial, to vegetable food. The doctrine of salvation entirely by faith in the merits of Christ was yet to be revealed to him in all the fullness of its consolation

and blessing. No one can question his earnestness and sincerity who reads the story of the struggles through which he was passing. With him had come his brother Charles, afterward to be the great hymn-writer of Methodism, who, after having completed his theological studies, shrunk, like Justus Falckner, from the responsibilities of the ministerial office, and had accepted the position of secretary to General Oglethorpe.

With the Moravians, who were going to reinforce the colony at Savannah founded in 1735, Wesley cultivated from the moment of embarking a very close intimacy, beginning at once to study German in order that he might converse with them. That he should be thrown into closer relations with them than with the Salzburgers can be readily understood; for the Salzburgers were unlettered peasants, and Von Reck was a youthful and enthusiastic nobleman, while the Moravians had among them men who, however humble, were of wide experience and intelligence. David Nitzschmann, a Moravian bishop, had been a missionary to the island of St. Thomas. As he was sixty years of age, his years rendered him an object of veneration to the young Oxford graduate, while his burning zeal for Christ was especially attractive to one who was still seeking the way of life. In the ship was also David Zeisberger, afterward to distinguish himself as "the apostle to the Indians." With these men Wesley could discuss not only subjects connected with practical Christianity and the missionary work upon which he was about to enter, but also the more profound questions of theology. Moravianism was endeavoring to return to the simplicity of apostolic Christianity; and even though Wesley understood, in a different way, what that meant, this was also his aim, as is seen even before he left the ship, when he baptized a child by immersion, as he writes, "according to the custom of

the first church and the rule of the Church of England."[1] But when he speaks of the Germans on board the vessel he evidently refers to the entire body of them, including the Salzburgers, who constituted by far the larger number.

As they approached the shores of America they experienced a succession of storms of extreme violence. Repeatedly it seemed as though all were lost. Mr. Wesley himself may tell the story:

> At seven [January 23d] I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behavior. Of their humility they had given a continued proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake, for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, "It was good for their proud hearts," or "Their loving Saviour had done more for them." And every day had given them occasion of showing meekness, which no injury could move. If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again, and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sang on. I asked one of them afterward, "Were you not afraid?" He answered, "I thank God, no." I asked, "But were not your women and children afraid?" He replied mildly, "No; our women and children are not afraid to die."
>
> From them I went to their crying, trembling neighbors, and pointed out to them the difference, in the hour of trial, between him that feareth God and him that feareth him not. At twelve the wind fell. This was the most glorious day which I had hitherto seen.

The accounts of this tempestuous voyage and the conduct of the Salzburgers given by Baron von Reck have been generally overlooked. He dwells at great length on December 20th, upon a storm which the published selections from Wesley's journal do not mention. He speaks of their great danger, and then the fervor of joy in which, before all the passengers in the cabin, the Salzburgers, to the

[1] "Journal," vol. i., p. 129.

great astonishment of the Englishmen present, offered their thanksgiving for deliverance. He says:

The fear and desire to please men all vanished in our need, and I learned to know how good and necessary it is to be practiced in faith and prayer before the need arises, so that when it bursts upon us we can say with truth and confidence, "God, thou art my God. No need, no trouble, not even death itself, can harm me; for I have a sure and certain refuge in the wounds of my Saviour; his name is my firm tower, to which I run, and in which I am securely protected."

The Englishmen were astonished no less at our free prayer, for we saw no men around and beside us, as long as we were occupied with the praise of God. The dear Salzburgers praised the Lord for his deliverance, singing the hymn "Lobe den Herrn, den mächtigen König der Erden," and then with great joy we went to rest.[1]

We can appreciate the astonishment of the founder of a communion known for the stress it places upon "free prayer" at this illustration of its power and eloquence, when it was uttered, as the spontaneous expression of the emotions of these Lutheran Christians, where no printed formula, which they none the less prized, in its proper place, would have suited. When the later storms which he describes arose, the incidents of this earlier storm were undoubtedly recalled. Of those that burst on them near the Georgia coast the baron writes:

We thought in this peril of the examples of old, how the Lord answers the prayers of the distressed. We recalled his tender mercy that had never forsaken us in past need. We had daily meetings for edification; but to-day we were driven together by the storm. We pondered upon the words, "Call upon me in the day of trouble." We drew near the throne of grace with tears and supplications; and they seemed to be borne by our Advocate before the Father who, for his dear Son's sake, could refuse no petition. After the evening service [*Betstunde*] I retired to my dark cabin and went to bed, but could not sleep because of my great distress concerning my sins and an evil conscience and unbelief. Every stroke of the waves upon the ship was a heavier stroke upon my heart; and I had nothing to oppose to the force of the waves and the fear of death but the feeble sighing and hope of my heart for grace, for Christ's sake.[2]

[1] "Urlspergerische Nachrichten," vol. ii., p. 826.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 832.

The baron evidently had not experienced the complete composure of the humble peasants who were in his care. It was the echo of the hymns which had cheered them in their weary march from their fatherland, and had comforted them as they remembered their lost children and homes, that was heard above the roar of the winds and the rush of the waters.

These storms are often referred to as important incidents in the life of John Wesley, but it seems to be almost overlooked that Charles Wesley was also on board. It was impossible for him to have forgotten, three years later, the scene in the cabin, with the prayers that astonished the Englishmen, whose burden was, "I have a sure and certain refuge in the wounds of my Saviour"; or that other scene which his brother describes, where, when all seemed lost, the hymns of the devout worshipers at their evening service were uninterrupted by the rending of sails and the breaking of masts. The whole thought of those anxious hours has been reproduced in Charles Wesley's hymn, sung wherever the English language is used:

Jesus, Lover of my soul,
Let me to thy bosom fly;
While the nearer waters roll,
While the tempest still is high!
Hide me, oh, my Saviour, hide,
Till the storm of life is past;
Safe into the haven guide;
Oh, receive my soul at last.

A true Salzburger hymn, translated into the experience of the young secretary of Oglethorpe, whose heart was agitated by a tempest of which that around him had been the image.

During their brief stay in Georgia we have accounts of but one visit to the Salzburgers. John Wesley writes, in August, 1737, shortly before leaving for England:

In the evening we came to New Ebenezer, where the poor Salzburgers are settled. The industry of this people is quite surprising. Their sixty huts are neatly and regularly built, and all the little spots of ground between them improved to the best advantage. One side of the town is a field of Indian corn; on the other are the plantations of several private persons; all which together one would hardly think it possible for a handful of people to have done in one year.[1]

The succeeding December Wesley returned to England. Twelve years afterward a letter from Pastor Boltzius to Wesley, which the latter translated for permanent record, shows that their relations were more intimate than can now be traced in other portions of the selections from Wesley's journals that have been published. Wesley says (September 29, 1749):

About this time I was refreshed with a friendly letter from an excellent man, whom I had not heard from for several years; part of it was as follows:

"EBENEZER IN GEORGIA, July 25, 1749.

"REV. AND DEAR SIR: The sincere love to your worthy person and faithful performance of your holy office, which the Lord kindled in my heart during your presence at Savannah, hath not been abated, but rather increased, since the providence of God called you from us, and showed you another field for the labor of your ministry.

"You are pleased in your last letter to Mr. Brown, of Savannah, to remember Ebenezer kindly, and desired to know what is the present state of the settlement. Though we have felt greatly the inconveniencies of the long war, yet there are great alterations for the better in our town and plantations since you were pleased to visit us. We have two large houses for public worship: one in town, the other in the middle of our plantations; two schools, in the same places; two corn-mills, one pounding-mill for rice, and one saw-mill. In the first quantity of boards we sawed we were cheated by an impostor, who undertook to ship them off to the West Indies. But we did not lose our courage, though we met with almost insuperable difficulties, till our circumstances were mended by the hand of the Almighty. We are still in the favor of the honorable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; as also of many good Christians in Germany, who love us, pray fervently for us, and contribute all in their power to promote our spiritual and temporal prosperity.

"Through very hard labor several of our people have left us, and are de-

[1] "Journal," p. 151.

parted to a better country in heaven; and the rest are weak and feeble in body, and not able to hold out long, unless relief is sent them by an embarkation of faithful servants from Germany. Besides widows and orphans, we have several that want assistance toward their maintenance; and this our good God hath sent us heretofore from Europe.

"After my dear fellow-laborer, Mr. Gronaw, died in peace above three years ago, the Lord was pleased to send me another, who likewise exactly follows the footsteps of his Saviour, to my great comfort and the great benefit of our congregation. The Lord hath graciously joined us in mutual love and harmony in our congregations; and hath not permitted the Herrnhuters (falsely called Moravians), nor other false teachers, to creep in among us. We are hated by wicked people, which prevents their settling among us; though we love them sincerely, and would have as many settle among us as would keep such orders as Christianity and the laws of England require them to do. This is all I thought it necessary to acquaint you with for the present; being, with due regard and cordial wishes for your prosperity in soul and body, reverend and dear sir,

"Yours most affectionately,

"JOHN MARTIN BOLZIUS."

Upon this Mr. Wesley comments:

What a truly Christian piety and simplicity breathe in these lines! And yet this very man, when I was at Savannah, did I refuse to admit to the Lord's table, because he was not baptized; that is, not baptized by a minister who had been episcopally ordained. Can any one carry high-church zeal higher than this? And how well have I been beaten with mine own staff![1]

Wesley's presence in America had enkindled in his great associate, George Whitefield, the earnest desire to follow him. They were not destined to be on this continent together. The day before Wesley reached England Whitefield left it, landing in Georgia May 17, 1738. The

1 "Journal," vol. ii., p. 153 sq. The account of the colony of Georgia, published 1741 in Charleston, cited p. 72, says of Wesley's extravagances which he here laments: "Under an affected strict adherence to the Church of England he most unmercifully damned all dissenters of whatever denomination, who were never admitted to communicate with him until they first gave up their faith and principles entirely to his molding and direction, and in confirmation thereof declared their belief of the invalidity of their former baptism, and then to receive a new one from him. . . . Persons suspected to be Roman Catholics were received and caressed by him as his first-rate saints."

prospect there seemed to him most discouraging. "The settlers were chiefly broken and decayed tradesmen from London and other parts of England." The Salzburgers he praised as "by far the most industrious of the whole." He speaks of the intimacy which he formed with the worthy pastors of Ebenezer,[1] and was pleased with the Orphan House, which only increased the desire he had formed, on reading an account of the Francke institutions at Halle, to found a similar home near Savannah.[2] The purpose formed was before long faithfully executed in his Bethesda. The words of Whitefield are:

> They are blest with two such pious ministers as I have not often seen. They have no courts of judicature, but all little differences are immediately and implicitly decided by their ministers, whom they look upon and love as their fathers. They have likewise an Orphan House, in which are seventeen children and one widow, and I was much delighted to see the regularity with which it was managed.[3]

Returning to England after a stay of sixteen weeks, Whitefield, although having enough on his hands in securing funds for his Orphan House, preached in several churches to collect also "for erecting a church for the poor Salzburgers."[4] When a church was at last erected, in 1741, he presented it with a bell. He furnished the colony with a much needed pair of horses, turning-lathes, and other thoughtful gifts. His contributions to the Ebenezer Orphan House were many and valuable.

[1] "Memoirs of Rev. George Whitefield," by John Gillies, D.D. (Middletown, 1836), p. 32.

[2] Bishop Hurst says: "It was this Orphan House which so pleased Whitefield when he visited the place that he made it the model for his celebrated orphanage at Bethesda, for which he made collections along the Atlantic coast, and toward which the quiet Benjamin Franklin one day emptied his pockets of their contents of copper, silver, and gold."—"Harper's Magazine," vol. lxxxv., p. 394.

[3] Quoted in Southey's "Wesley," vol. i., p. 99.

[4] Gillies' "Memoirs of Whitefield," p. 37.

In the published letters of Whitefield there are several interesting allusions. Under date of April 10, 1740, he writes:

> Some of the Germans in America are holy souls, and deserve the character they bear. They keep up a close walk with God, and are remarkable for their sweetness and simplicity of behavior. They talk little; they think much. Most of them, I believe, are Lutherans.[1]

On June 25th he writes:

> Went on Monday to Ebenezer, and returned to Savannah this evening. Surely there is a difference, even in this life, between those who serve God and those who serve him not. All other places of the colony seem to be like Egypt, where was darkness, but Ebenezer like the land of Goshen, wherein was great light. I walked near four miles in almost one continued field, covered with a most plentiful crop of corn, pease, potatoes, etc., all the product of a few months' labor. But God gives the laborers a peculiar blessing. They are unanimous, and the strong help the weak. I had sweet communication with their ministers.[2]

The early Lutherans of Georgia were much more isolated from those of the same faith in this country than any other Lutheran colony. Boltzius is said to have been averse to any intimate relations with Berkenmeyer, so strong was the feeling aroused by the Pietistic controversy in Germany. At a great distance Boltzius could not understand the character of Van Dieren, as Muhlenberg did later, and as the irregular preacher had some sort of indorsement from Böhme of London, a Halle alumnus and the intimate friend of Urlsperger, he condemned Berkenmeyer's course. The scattered and uncared-for Lutherans of Pennsylvania repeatedly appealed to Boltzius for his aid and advice, but complained that their letters were not answered. The Halle authorities urged that he should endeavor to yield to their entreaties; but in vain.[3] Finally, when Muhlenberg arrived, he was at last induced to start for Pennsyl-

1 Whitefield's "Letters," vol. i., p. 166.
2 Tyerman's "Life of Whitefield," vol. i., p. 392.
3 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., pp. 58, 62, 65.

vania, in order, with his experience, to aid in laying the foundations for the church there; but peculiar difficulties at Ebenezer weighed on him so heavily that, after reaching Charleston, he returned home. Contributions were afterward sent both from Savannah and Ebenezer to aid Muhlenberg in building churches.[1] His mind seemed to be intent on two things. One was the development of all the interests of Ebenezer, in the furtherance of which he never spared himself, day or night; and the other was the cultivation of his own spiritual life by devout meditation, and by the writing of voluminous journals entering into the fullest details of his own experience and that of his people. He is always analyzing the motives and conduct of those for whose care he has the responsibility. He is a teacher and preacher, even in the daily entries in his diaries. He suggests nothing, but elaborates everything. He knows not how to condense; he almost seems, in his voluminous reports, to aim at—he certainly delights in—expanding. We feel constantly the presence of a holy personality, but of one absolutely deficient in that breadth of view which could look forward to any remote future for the church, or could send more than his prayers and his assurances of sympathy to those living at any great distance. There are traces also of a regard for dreams, etc., that show some symptoms of a mysticism which was tending toward enthusiasm, and weakened somewhat the force of his otherwise sound teaching and faithful practice.

Two of the brightest young men in the colony, brothers, he carefully instructed in the branches preparatory for a higher course at Halle. The elder, who had made most gratifying progress in both Latin and Greek, sickened and died; the other brother probably never continued his studies. Boltzius sent his own son to Halle.

[1] "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. ix., p. 832.

The field was gradually extending, as outlying districts were taken possession of by the Salzburgers and brought under cultivation. This necessitated more churches, so that by the middle of the century St. Matthew's parish, as it was called, included four churches—Jerusalem, Zion, Bethany, and Goshen. This, with the care of Savannah, would, without the conduct of the temporal affairs of the colony, have been sufficient for the pastoral work of two men who gave the attention to the individuals of their charge that these pastors did.

In 1744 Gronau took a cold in filling the Savannah appointment, from which he never recovered. He lingered for one year; and the details of his Christian resignation and deep affection for his people have been recorded at length by Boltzius. Bishop Stevens has well condensed them in the beautiful words:[1] "Filled with the love of souls, he made his bed a pulpit, whence he taught the people; and his sickness, borne so patiently, and gloried in so triumphantly, was a more powerful sermon than ever fell from his lips in the days of his strength and service." When the last hour came, he asked a parishioner to support his weak arms, and, with them extended, and the words, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus—Amen," upon his lips, he entered into rest.

On the recommendation of Dr. J. A. Francke and Pastor J. A. Maier of Halle, Dr. Urlsperger sent a formal call to Hermann Henry Lemke to become successor to Gronau. Lemke was a student at Halle, and also a teacher in the Orphan House. Dr. Urlsperger signed the call as "Senior of the English Ministerium and pastor at St. Anna's instead, and in the name of the venerable English Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge." For nineteen years Lemke labored alongside of Boltzius as his associate, hav-

1 "History of Georgia," vol. i., p. 363.

ing identified himself closely with the colony and its previous religious development and strengthened the bonds connecting him with the senior pastor, by marrying Gronau's widow, Boltzius' sister-in-law. For a number of years after the death of Boltzius he held his place in the congregations and community.

Boltzius was not well pleased when, in 1752, the thoughtful consideration of Urlsperger provided a third pastor in the person of Christian Rabenhorst, in order to lighten the burdens of his advancing years. Not only was the pastor provided, but a fund was raised, the interest of which availed for his support. The ordination of Rabenhorst for his work in America, July 28, 1752, was evidently a great event in St. Anna's Church, Augsburg. The entire ordination service, with the biography of the candidate and the ordination sermon, was published as a separate pamphlet, and included also in the "Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes," Augsburg, 1760.[1] We are there told that, at birth, Rabenhorst was so feeble that there was little prospect of his surviving long; but that as his father's prayer, who vowed that should he live he should be devoted to the ministry, was answered, he had cheerfully prepared himself for the work. The questions addressed the candidate were unusually long. The confessional test was as follows:

> Will you esteem the word of the Old and New Testaments, together with its seals, baptism and the Lord's Supper, higher than all the treasures of the Old and the New World, and, with God's assistance and blessing, will you always administer them in your office, until your end, only according to the example of Jesus Christ and his apostles, and according to the model of the wholesome doctrine of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, founded thereon, and expressed and explained in our symbolical books?

But the confidence of the senior pastor was soon gained when the young man threw himself into the work with

[1] Pages 163–174.

such zeal that he had to be restrained by his brethren for the fear that he would break down. With Rabenhorst there was an accession to the colony of a number of Würtembergers.

On November 1, 1753, the two younger pastors with a number of the parishioners called upon Boltzius to congratulate him on the completion of his twenty years' service at Ebenezer. The first half of the hymn "Oh that I had a thousand tongues" was sung, the one hundred and third Psalm was read, and the object of the meeting was stated. Then all knelt, while first Mr. Lemke and then Mr. Rabenhorst, and finally Mr. Boltzius, offered prayer. The latter part of the hymn was sung, and the service closed with the benediction by the pastor who had received the congratulations.

The last years of Boltzius were years of weakness. The prospect of death was long before him, as his disease gradually progressed. He wrote a farewell letter to Urlsperger: "I am hastening toward my home. He who sees his wedding-day is not concerned about trifles." He closed his last letter to Ziegenhagen with the words: "I know in whom I have believed, and I am sure there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." When the end approached and his colleague Lemke comforted him with the words of the Saviour in John xvii. 24, Boltzius repeated, after he had ceased, the clause, "That they may behold my glory." The next day, November 15, 1765, he was with the Lord, whom he so long had served.

Reviewing the history of the first period of the churches of the Salzburgers, we must certainly be convinced of the great efficiency as well as fidelity with which they were administered. The executive ability of Boltzius was of the highest order. He was most conscientious in the observance of a full church order. This order should be per-

manently preserved as the first German American Church order which we have. It was prepared by Urlsperger, Ziegenhagen, and Francke, and shows, therefore, the type of constitution which they regarded best adapted for the success of a Lutheran congregation in America, nine years before the arrival of Muhlenberg. It begins:

In the Name of God: The fundamental constitution, articles, and rules, upon which a German Evangelical Lutheran congregation was formally established, upon the basis of the Holy Bible, our Augsburg Confession (and the other symbolical books), since the year 1733, in and about Ebenezer, in his Great Britannic Majesty's province of Georgia; and which were unanimously approved, confirmed, and unalterably determined upon, under hand and seal, by the reverend founders, viz., Messrs. Samuel Urlsperger, Frederick Michael Ziegenhagen, Gotthelf Augustus Francke, most worthy members of the venerable society in England, instituted for the promotion of the knowledge of Christ; together with the first ministers, elders, deacons, and regular church members, his Great Britannic Protestant Majesty's faithful subjects.

The constitution then proceeds to a consideration of the origin and importance of elders and deacons, declares "our congregation does not properly belong to the English Church," and speaks of the necessity of some provision for elders and deacons, like that found in "the Evangelical Lutheran Church in London," and urges members of the congregation to aid these officers by their cheerful contributions. It then proceeds to a specification of the duties of these church officers, as follows:

Touching the office and duties of the church elder, in regard to the ministers in the churches, the teachers in the schools, the whole congregation, and the money intrusted to them, it shall be indicated in the words of the printed London German Church Discipline, given to us, altered, however, in several instances, to accord with our peculiar circumstances.

In order that the close dependence of our German-American congregational constitutions of the eighteenth century upon the London Lutheran congregational constitutions of an earlier date, and through them upon the

Amsterdam Lutheran constitutions, may be seen, we give these provisions in parallel columns:

Amsterdam (1597).[1]	*Savoy, London* (1694).	*Georgia* (1733).[2]
1. They shall employ the utmost diligence that God's Word shall be declared unto the Christians in our congregations properly and purely, by pious teachers and ministers, that the holy sacraments be administered according to the command and institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that every point in this revised Church Order be well maintained, also that the pure doctrine be preserved and transmitted to our posterity. And in order that this object may be attained, some of them shall always be present at every sermon, and listen to it.	1. They shall employ the utmost diligence that the Word of God shall be declared to the Christians of our congregation, in its purity and without admixture, by pious teachers and ministers, that the holy sacraments be administered according to the command and institution of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that every point in this revised Church Order be well maintained, also that the pure doctrine be preserved and transmitted to our posterity. And in order that this object may be attained, some of them, in case all cannot appear, shall be present at every sermon, and listen to it.	1. They shall employ the utmost diligence that the Word of God shall be declared to the Christians of our congregation, in its purity and without admixture, by pious teachers and ministers: that the holy sacraments enjoined and instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ be administered, and that the pure doctrine be preserved and transmitted to our posterity. And in order that this object may be attained, some of them, at least, in case all cannot, shall be present when the Word is preached.

The nine sections of the Georgia correspond to the nine of the Savoy constitution. The changes are unimportant, e.g., as the salary of the pastors was provided from outside sources, the congregation had to look only to the payment of such schoolteachers as they might have; it was more convenient for the Georgia congregation to pay semi-annually instead of quarterly; the collection-plates used in the Amsterdam congregation at festival days, Sunday and week-day services, were used in the London church only on festival days and Sundays, while among the Salzburgers it was the custom to have such collection only on the Sundays on which the communion was administered.

Before leaving Georgia notice should also be taken of a small colony that was established at Frederica, on St. Simon's Island, about one hundred and fifty miles south

[1] We quote from Benthem's German translation of Dutch edition of 1682.
[2] English translation in Strobel, p. 97.

of Savannah. In October, 1736, John Wesley found Germans there who could not understand English, and arranged for them a short service daily at noon. They sang a German hymn, and Wesley read and explained a chapter to them in German, as well as he could. They seem to have had little further attention until after the repulse of the Spanish invasion in 1742, when Oglethorpe became interested in them and provided the salary for a pastor. Rev. John Ulrich Driessler was sent thither through Urlsperger and Francke in 1744, and gathered a congregation of sixty-three members; but he died in 1746.[1] His widow two years later reported that there was no service of any kind, English or German, held there, and the Germans were removing.[2] Afterward the remnants were gathered into a German Reformed congregation of a Swiss pastor, Rev. Zübli.

Lutheran congregations were also founded before the middle of the eighteenth century at Orangeburg, and in Lexington County, S. C.

Another isolated parish had been established in what was then Spottsylvania[3] County, Va., composed partly of twelve families of Palatinates who had escaped from the massacre in North Carolina, and partly of a colony of Alsatians and Palatinates who had started for Pennsylvania, but who, in 1717, after various hardships on the voyage, in which many of their companions died, were purchased by Governor Spottwood, and sent by him to his lands in the same locality, on the upper Rappahannock, "twelve [German] miles from the sea." Here the Rev. G. Henkel,

[1] "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. xii., p. 240.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. xiii., p. 529.

[3] In 1734 Orange was cut off of Spottsylvania; in 1748 Culpepper was formed from Orange; and in 1792 Madison from Culpepper. The church is now in Madison County.

an ancestor of the prominent family of that name, is said to have ministered to them for a short time. This was probably before the second band had arrived; as for sixteen years they had been without a pastor, when they were at length supplied by John Caspar Stoever, Sr., born in Frankenberg, Hesse, who came to America in 1727 with his younger relative of the same name. The latter was a missionary preacher in Pennsylvania, and has often been confounded with the former. They were near relatives of the two distinguished Lutheran theologians, John Frederick and John Philip Fresenius. Stoever's salary was three thousand pounds of tobacco a year. Desiring to provide for the permanent establishment of the church, the pastor and two members, Michael Schmidt and Michael Holden, in 1734 went to Europe, to collect a fund for the endowment of the church. They were most cordially received in London by Ziegenhagen and the other London pastors, and recommended to Germany and Holland. The Lutherans of Hamburg, where they collected in September, 1735, were very generous. Besides a large amount of money, they procured a library of valuable theological books for the use of the pastors of the church. A candidate for the ministry, George Samuel Klug, offered to return with them as an additional pastor, and was ordained for the work in St. Mary's Church, Danzig, August 30, 1736. The young minister proceeded to his new home with one of the laymen. Stoever remained in Germany, most of the time with John Philip Fresenius at Darmstadt, for the purpose of completing the collections,[1] and finally died at sea on his return in 1738. The result was that the contributions amounted to three thousand pounds. Of this, one third paid the expenses, another third was de-

[1] "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. iii., pp. 1094–99.

voted to the building of a frame chapel and the purchase of farm lands, and another third to the purchase of slaves to till it; so that Pastor Klug reported in 1749 that "the congregation was not in the least burdened by his support," but complained of his complete isolation.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. xviii., p. 612.

CHAPTER XI.

THE FORERUNNERS OF MUHLENBERG.

THE German emigration to New York, being checked by the treatment which the Palatinates experienced from Hunter and Livingstone, was turned toward Pennsylvania. Before the second decade of the century the number of Lutherans who settled there was very small. The church at Falckner's Swamp, Montgomery County, afterward New Hanover, had been formed,[1] and in 1719 had received the gift of fifty acres of ground from J. H. Sprogle, of the Frankfort Company. Gerhard Henkel had served as its pastor, to be followed from 1720 to 1723 by the Swedish pastor, Samuel Hesselius.

The emigration to Pennsylvania was in successive waves, representing first various German sects, as the Quakers, the Mennonites, the Dunkers, etc., then the Reformed, and lastly the Lutherans. The Lutherans came not simply from the Palatinate, but in large numbers from Würtemberg, Hesse-Darmstadt, and Elsass. Muhlenberg has indicated the character of the successive additions of Lutherans. Those arriving between 1720 and 1730 were, as a rule, desirous of having their religious wants provided for, but were without pastors and teachers, and were too poor to send to Europe for them. Some preachers, how-

[1] As it has now been established that Justus Falckner took charge at New York immediately on his ordination in 1703, where he continued until his death, much difficulty is attached to the tradition confirmed by Acrelius, of his pastorate at the Swamp. Either his brother, Daniel, served in Pennsylvania, or Justus, as a former student of theology, but not pastor.

ever, were active among them. Muhlenberg mentions Henkel, Falckner, and Stoever. Falckner was probably the elder brother of the New York pastor. John Caspar Stoever, Jr., signed his name with the title *S. S. Theol. Stud.* on the list of emigrants which arrived at Philadelphia September 11, 1728. He was a cousin of Fresenius and a grandson and nephew of two Lutheran pastors Eberwein, the latter of whom (John Christian), who was first pastor and teacher at Giessen, and died as dean of St. Catherine's Church, Hamburg, had some reputation as a hymn-writer. Mr. Stoever preached first at The Trappe in Montgomery County, and afterward at New Holland, Lancaster County, but, as there was no one competent to examine and ordain him, was unable legitimately to administer the sacraments. First from New Holland, and then from Lebanon County, as his home, he continued throughout his life to be an indefatigable missionary and a careful and systematic keeper of church records. His name will frequently reappear.

In the succeeding decade Muhlenberg traces an improvement. The number of Germans increasing, a few schoolteachers enter with them who could read sermons to the people, but sometimes assumed to act as though they were ministers, and to administer the sacraments. The Germans press farther and farther toward the frontier, as the ground nearest the coast is occupied by their predecessors; or they tarry for a while at the center where their countrymen had first settled, and then go whither they hope to find richer returns for their labor.

A pastor by the name of John Christian Schultze brought the Lutherans of Philadelphia into a congregational organization. They had hitherto enjoyed only occasional services from the pastors at Wicaco, as, for example, probably even Fabritius in the preceding century

and afterward Eneberg. He persuaded them and the congregations at Providence (The Trappe) and New Hanover to send him and two representatives of the laity to Europe for help to build and otherwise provide for their churches. Schultze's stay in this country was brief; he arrived in September, 1733, and left in the succeeding spring. Before leaving he induced Mr. Stoever to receive from him ordination, in order to take charge of the three congregations during what he thought would be only a temporary absence. Mr. Stoever's connection with the Philadelphia congregation ceased in the spring of 1735. Their place of worship from 1733 to 1743 was in a building, sometimes designated as "a carpenter's shop" and sometimes "a barn," on Arch Street below Fifth, which was rented by them and the Reformed jointly from William Allen. On Sunday, June 9, 1734, Baron von Reck on his way to New England, being in Philadelphia over Sunday, gathered together the Germans, and "edified them simply, according to the grace which God had given" him.[1] In 1735 another layman, J. A. Langerfeldt, who had studied at Halle, was prevailed upon to conduct services every two weeks. From 1737 to 1741 the Swedish pastor Dylander held German services every Sunday in Gloria Dei Church.

In Germantown the venerable St. Michael's is probably still older than the church in Philadelphia, Rev. Gerhard Henkel having preached to the Germans there before 1726. The cornerstone of a church was laid in 1730,[2] and the church consecrated by the Swedish pastor, Dylander, November 6, 1737.

The city of Lancaster was founded in 1730, but its

[1] "Urlspergerische Nachrichten," vol. i., p. 157.

[2] Acrelius, p. 237. "Consecrated" there used is a manifest error, as Dylander did not arrive until 1737.

church register, while begun in 1733 by Mr. Stoever, has records of official acts irregularly performed by him there as early as 1729. He continued to be pastor until 1742. At Earltown (New Holland) Mr. Stoever's register also begins in 1733, but contains records going back to 1730. His pastorate in this field continued until 1746. At York Mr. Stoever begins the register in September, 1733, and served the congregation for ten years. At Conewago (Hanover, York County) Mr. Stoever records the baptism of John Jacob Kitzmiller in 1731. The congregation at New Hanover (Falckner's Swamp) was served by him during his connection with the Philadelphia congregation. At Tulpehocken, in Lebanon County, among the Lutherans who had descended the Susquehanna from their first settlement in Schoharie, where Henkel had served for a time, a very serious feud existed owing to the efforts of a schoolteacher to force himself upon the congregation, and the election of Mr. Stoever in 1735, as pastor, by those opposed to him. Mr. Stoever had performed ministerial acts there five years previously. The Moravians finally entered into the controversy, and Zinzendorf deposed Mr. Stoever from the ministry, although the sentence had no weight outside of the count's own circle.

Who the first pastors were is unknown, but evidences are at hand of the building of a log church at Indianfield in 1730, and of the existence of a congregation at Old Goschenhoppen in 1732, which had a church building in common with the Reformed in 1736. Both these congregations are in Montgomery County, and the latter, before the century was over, gave to the Lutheran Church of America, as one of its baptized children, the ever-to-be-revered Charles Philip Krauth, the first president of Pennsylvania College, and father of the distinguished theologian of Philadelphia.

In 1737 Mr. Stoever's private journal has records of ministerial acts as far south as Orange County, Va.

Considering the large German emigration that had set in, these churches would have been entirely inadequate, even if they had been supplied with a sufficient number of pastors. In October, 1739, the representatives of the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania wrote to Dr. Ziegenhagen: "There is not one German Lutheran preacher in the whole land, except Caspar Stoever, now sixty miles distant from Philadelphia." The spiritual life was what might be expected on the frontier. Baron von Reck writes of Philadelphia: "It is an abode of all religions and sects, Lutherans, Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, Quakers, Dunkards, Mennonites, Sabbatarians, Seventh-Day Baptists, Separatists, Böhmists, Schwenkfeldians, Tuchfelder, Wohlwünscher, Jews, heathen, etc." (June 6, 1734). A new heathenism was threatened, with the destitution of pastors and schools. The Governor of Pennsylvania wrote a few years later: "The Germans imported with them all the religious whimsies of their country, and I believe have subdivided since their arrival here."[1] He estimates their number then (1748) as three fifths of the entire province.

The German Lutherans grew more and more distressed at their own condition. They appealed to the Swedish pastors, but they could only occasionally aid them. They repeatedly wrote to Dr. Ziegenhagen at London, Dr. G. A. Francke at Halle, and Dr. Fresenius at Darmstadt. The proposition of Pastor Schultze to send a commission to England and Germany to personally interview the pastors in London and the authorities at Halle was a wise one, al-

[1] Governor Thomas to the Bishop of Exeter. "Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania," edited by William Stevens Perry, p. 256.

though the result long seemed a disappointment, and years passed before any relief came. With these years of waiting there were also new perils. Even the collections made threatened to amount to nothing more than sources of scandal, the details of which may be read in the correspondence attached to the first part of the new edition of the Halle "Reports."

The laymen, commissioned by the congregations at Philadelphia, New Hanover, and Providence (Trappe), to accompany Pastor Schultze to Europe were Daniel Weissiger and John Daniel Schöner. They were furnished with credentials from the officers[1] of the three congregations, stating the object of their mission, together with a certificate from Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania.

Upon the presentation of these to Dr. Ziegenhagen he wrote an open letter (January 28, 1734) to a clergyman of Hanover, highly indorsing the object, but speaking of his distress at his inability to give any important relief. He quotes in it an extract from a letter of Weissiger to him the preceding October, which Muhlenberg afterward incorporated in the Halle "Reports," as a faithful description of the situation:

> We live in a country that is full of heresy and sects. As far as our religious interests are concerned, we are in a state of the greatest destitution; and our own means are utterly insufficient to effect the necessary relief, unless God in his mercy may send us help and means from abroad. It is truly lamentable to think of the large numbers of the rising generation who know not their right hand from their left; and, unless help be promptly afforded, the danger is great that, in consequence of the great lack of churches and schools, the most of them will be misled into the ways of destructive error. He who tries the hearts and reins knows how very much we need the material aid of our Christian brethren. Truly, in our appeal for pecuniary contributions we have desired nothing but the glory of God and the welfare of souls, so many of whom are scattered abroad throughout the land. We do not at all contemplate the building of imposing and expensive churches. If

[1] Johann Backer, Hans George Herger, Adam Herrmann, George Hollebach, Joh. Nicol. Crössmann, Jacob Schrack.

we only have enough to erect, in several places, such buildings as may enable us to come together in a respectable way to praise and worship our Lord in an appropriate manner, and also to give the necessary instruction to the youth, we shall be satisfied.[1]

With this letter Weissiger published in the succeeding May a statement that the three congregations consisted of about five hundred families each. Efforts were made both in Denmark and Holland to secure funds, but without success. The amount secured was small when compared with what the elder Stoever succeeded afterward in obtaining for his congregation in Virginia. Pastor Schultze was not regarded with favor, and was repeatedly accused of having appropriated funds which he received. He remained in Germany. Weissiger, upon whom the chief responsibility fell, returned to America with the first Salzburg colony.

The authorities at Halle prepared a series of regulations concerning the calling of a pastor to the three congregations. He was to be ordained before leaving Germany, after having received a call according to a form which they prepared. The duties of the congregations to pastors are enumerated and especially enjoined upon them. A fixed compensation in money must be promised in advance, as the payment of the salary in tobacco or produce would involve the pastor in secular business. In the form of call, not only necessary sustenance is pledged, but also traveling expenses to Germany, should a pastor desire to return.

Long delay followed. Francke and Ziegenhagen insisted upon most clear and definite arrangements for the support of the pastor, before they would mention any name. A letter from Halle to Ziegenhagen says:

As to the congregation at Philadelphia, I wish most sincerely that wholesome counsel may be given them; for I cannot, at present, see how he could

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 10; English translation, p. 14.

be sustained. Men of good parts are needed everywhere; and I know of several places where such men may be employed. I therefore have my doubts about sending a good man to America upon an uncertainty; and, besides, such a man would hardly be willing to go if he were aware of all the circumstances of the case. To keep these hidden, and to send a good man thither with the impression on his mind that matters are otherwise and better than they really are, is a movement for which we would not be responsible. We had better, then, wait for some more propitious occasion, when either the people themselves will be reduced to order by their very necessities, or we can obtain a stronger assurance that when a good man is sent to them they will receive and treat him in a becoming manner. . . . Further, it is a question whether it would be right to send one man alone; because the people living in such confusion and distracted with all kinds of whimsical notions, would be sure to make his life a very bitter one. In view of these things, he ought to be a man of solid, commanding character, well qualified to encounter such spirits; and where shall we find such a man?[1]

To such presentations the representatives of the Pennsylvania congregations answered:

We do not propose to let our pastors suffer want, but much rather to support them according to our ability. On the other hand, we desire as our pastor, not a covetous man, nor one ruled by temporal motives, but a man who out of a sincere heart and out of love to God is constrained to come to our help and to enter into the pastoral office amongst us. We live in a land in which a pastor cannot expect to enjoy himself in a magnificent parsonage, in a life of luxury, and with large revenues; but for a faithful pastor, who is a true apostle of Christ and has the Spirit of the Lord in him, measures will certainly be taken to secure him an adequate support. . . . We have to state clearly and candidly that we cannot bind ourselves either to raise a salary of fifty pounds sterling per year, or to advance to you any large sum to meet traveling expenses, or to defray the expense of going back to Germany. . . . Most people refuse to contribute to such a fund, fearing lest, as has happened already at New York, we might receive a teacher who would occasion more harm and offense than benefit and edification to the church, as Pastor Schultze has done.[2]

Three years later they write to Dr. Ziegenhagen with great indignation:

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 61; English translation, pp. 92 sqq.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 62; English translation, pp. 96 sqq.

It looks as if money had more power than any spiritual principle has to urge you to labor for the spreading of the kingdom of God; although a bishop ought not be covetous, and Christ commanded his disciples not to carry a purse.

Ziegenhagen's life certainly disproved any such charge among those who knew him.

If your Reverence and Professor Francke could see with your own eyes the sad condition of the many poor people who are coming to this country every year and are put out to service among other sects—poor people who would be so glad to go, on Sunday, to a church of their own confession—you would understand that, in case you continue to hold back and delay any longer, you will surely have a great responsibility before you in the presence of God on that great day of judgment, because you have not so much as permitted the collected funds to be applied to the objects to which benevolent hearts have given them, that is, the building of our churches and schools. The Lord reward all these benevolent friends a thousandfold, in every way; although you see proper to withhold it from us, under the pretext that we must first call a preacher whom you know and can trust, and must expressly promise and bind ourselves to give him a certain specified salary every year, all of which is directly contrary to the teachings of Christ (Matt. vi. 33), "Seek ye first," etc. So we believe and are convinced, that if a faithful pastor whose trust is in the Lord were to come to us, all these things would be added unto him, and he would have a rich abundance to help him through. But so far, the principle seems to be, provide for the body first, before the salvation of souls can be considered.

Thus these Pennsylvania Germans, Henry Nilber, George Beck, Thomas Meyer, John N. Crössman, Matthew Ringer, and Jacob Schrack, undertook to teach the doctors in London and at Halle theology. But it seems strange that fifteen hundred families, in the three congregations, could not have laid the same text to heart so as to have gathered together the few hundred dollars needed, rather than to have remained for years without the regular preaching of the Word.[1] There was fault undoubtedly on both sides.

1 "A few of the Lutherans wrote repeatedly to Germany for a preacher; but many years passed over without one, because they did not mention at the same time what salary he was to have; and word was even sent them that none would be provided unless they determined his salary beforehand." —Spangenberg's "Life of Zinzendorf," English translation, p. 294.

A young minister of thorough consecration would not have hesitated long about assurances of salary, with such a vast field for usefulness opening to him. The principles according to which the Halle institutions were founded should have taught this. Had the proper man occurred to Dr. Francke or Dr. Ziegenhagen, the other difficulties would have probably disappeared; as they did when, at last, in 1741, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was called to the work. It was during this interval that fruitless appeals were made both by the congregations in Pennsylvania and the authorities at Halle to Boltzius to go to Pennsylvania, examine the situation, and aid in preparing for a pastor.

Before we come to the call and work of Muhlenberg, the neglected congregations in Pennsylvania are made to feel the thrill of a strong religious life by the sudden appearance among them of Count Zinzendorf. Aglow with zeal for Christ, throwing all emphasis in his teaching upon the one doctrine of redemption through the blood shed on Calvary, all the social advantages and influence and wealth which his position gave him were made subservient to that of preaching Christ and him crucified to the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant. Brought up in the Lutheran Church, as a member of the school of Spener, who had been his godfather, and educated in part at Halle under Francke, his enthusiastic spirit broke through both the precision of theological definition required in the Lutheran Church and the restraints imposed by ascetic tendencies he deemed inconsistent with the freedom of the gospel that he felt were already beginning to prevail at Halle. Traveling extensively, he even showed a leaning toward the more mystical element in the Roman Catholic Church, and cultivated for a time an intimacy with Cardinal de Noailles. Interested in the followers of Huss in

Moravia, he purchased the estate at Berthelsdorf and transferred them to it, soon uniting with them, then entering their ministry, and then becoming one of their bishops, "having in view," as his associate Spangenberg says, "Spener's idea of a reformation of the church," and taking it for granted that this was to be accomplished "by means of a faithful repetition and promulgation of Luther's evangelical doctrines, as contained in the Holy Scriptures and the Augsburg Confession." [1]

The esteem he felt, even when a child, for Luther's Small Catechism and the divine truths contained in it, he continued to feel during his whole life. He regarded it as the most valuable book next to the Bible, and as a masterpiece of that distinguished servant of God, in the composition of which he had been certainly most powerfully assisted and directed by the Spirit of God.[2]

Professing still to be a Lutheran, even after he became a Moravian, he thought that all points in the Lutheran faith which had involved or would involve serious controversy should be kept from the knowledge of the people.[3] To them he would preach nothing but those simple truths upon which there could be no dispute among godly men, and those truths he believed to be taught in their greatest simplicity and power in the Lutheran Church. The following incident which occurred in Pennsylvania, related by Spangenberg, illustrates this:

Having once taken a person with him to show him the way through the wood, he asked him of what religion he was. "A Lutheran, to be sure," said his guide. "But do you know what it is to be a Lutheran?" asked the count. This question startled the man, who honestly confessed that he did not. On inquiring further whether he would be glad to have it explained to him, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, the count prolonged his journey so as to find time to converse with the guide during the night, and then described to him, with a warm heart, what it was to be a Lutheran. This so affected the man that it proved the means of his conversion.[4]

[1] "Life of Zinzendorf," p. 42.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[3] *Ibid*, p. 42.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 314.

To the deadness and indifference that prevailed in many parts of the Lutheran Church, to the lamentable lack of the exercise of church discipline, to the philosophical treatment of religious questions that was entering within the sphere of theological instruction, and the bitterness of the controversies that gave him great offense, he at first thought of attempting to oppose a new reformation, but finally was persuaded that this was not the proper remedy. His scheme grew into a more comprehensive one. His aim next was to infuse a new spirit into all church communions. He started upon the truth, taught in the Lutheran confessions, that the true church is not properly any external organization, but is scattered over the whole world.[1] Recognizing the fact, therefore, that among all confessions there are some true children of God, his plan was to unite them into a confederacy, within which the various denominations were still to remain distinct. This, however, would have proved only another external organization from which it would have been impossible to have excluded unbelievers, and outside of which there would have still been innumerable children of God.

No more determined opponents of Zinzendorf were to be found than the theologians of the Halle school. It was not only that they saw that they were in danger of being held responsible for the alleged extravagances of this godson of Spener and pupil of Francke, but because they believed that they had no right to be silent when, as they were convinced, important doctrines of God's Word were concealed, and questions which had been long settled were opened for a repetition of the bitter experiences of the past. The teachers at Halle had no more interest in controversy, for its own sake, than had Zinzendorf; but they could not be silent concerning the fruits of the church's

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 28; "Apology of Augsburg Confession," chapter iv., § 10.

conflicts. Hence they regarded the well-meant efforts of their former pupil or fellow-student as involving great danger, by the confusion it would work among congregations where it would enter.

The course of Halle was approved and its protests powerfully supported by a school, probably more thoroughly representing the first age of Halle. At the head of this school was the great New Testament critic and exegete, Bengel, who, with high appreciation of the noble character of Zinzendorf, and in a spirit which is a model for all controversialists, expressed in several treatises his most decided dissent. "To the essential and primary doctrine of the atonement by Christ's precious blood, my own heart most fully assents and accords; indeed, every true Christian from Luther's time to the present has been distinguished by deep attachment to it";[1] but Zinzendorf, he says, falls into the imagination of those who think "no part of a clock so useful as the dial hand." The repeated efforts of the count to gain a foothold in the Würtemberg church rendered it afterward necessary, in Bengel's judgment, to oppose him at greater length, especially when the Lutheran Church was arraigned as being the church at Laodicea of the eighteenth century.[2] In this treatise he especially shows the further development of Zinzendorf's views beyond those held at the period now considered.

A still more active opponent was Dr. J. Philip Fresenius, above mentioned, whose works on various subjects connected with Zinzendorf and the progress of the movement which he started comprise a number of volumes, some of them containing many valuable original documents.

When, in 1734, intelligence had reached Halle that Spangenberg had been holding some interviews with Dan-

[1] "Memoir," by his son-in-law, J. F. Burk, p. 406.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

iel Weissiger, the latter found it necessary, in a rather evasive letter, to explain to the younger Francke that no league had been made between them.[1] Nor could the influence of Dr. Ziegenhagen be secured in the efforts to send Moravian bishops to America, even when they came to him with a letter of introduction from Dr. Buddeus.[2]

We cannot doubt that Zinzendorf had learned of the great neglect of the Lutherans in Pennsylvania, and that his restless spirit longed to be active within it. The knowledge gained by Spangenberg's interviews with Weissiger was doubtless confirmed by what was further learned from the colony founded in Georgia in 1735, which in 1740 was transferred to the Lehigh Valley in Pennsylvania. Arriving in Philadelphia at the close of November, 1741, he rented a house in Germantown, and began his journeys among the Germans, in order to reconnoiter the field. He estimated the number in Pennsylvania as one hundred thousand, and their religious condition such that "it had become proverbial, respecting any one who cared not for God and his Word, that 'he was of the Pennsylvanian religion.'"[3] His first sermon was preached in the Reformed Church of Germantown, December 20, 1741, on 1 Timothy iii. 16. On January 1, 1742, he held in his house at Germantown the first of his conferences, at which there were present four Seventh-Day Baptists, some other Baptists, and Mennonites, with a few Lutherans and Reformed.[4] Of the other conferences we will speak later.

The interest of the Lutherans in Philadelphia was enlisted by these conferences, so that they asked him to preach for them regularly. After obtaining the assurance of the

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," English translation, p. 84.

[2] Stoughton's "Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges," vol. i., p. 355.

[3] Spangenberg's "Life of Zinzendorf," p. 294.

[4] Fresenius, "Herrnhutische Nachrichten," vol. iii., p. 147.

Reformed pastor, Rev. Mr. Böhme, that he did not object to the arrangement, he accepted the invitation. Eight of the sermons preached by him to the Philadelphia Lutherans have been published, and have a value beyond that of their historical associations. He declined for a time to administer the Lord's Supper, but did so finally on Easter Monday. In the communion sermon on the text Matthew ix. 13, he begins by speaking of his great gratitude, as a Lutheran who for years has been protesting against the sad corruptions of his religion in Europe, in being permitted for the first time to administer the Lord's Supper to Lutherans in another land where all religions are in low esteem. He assures them that he holds the fundamental principles of the Lutheran Church to be the only true ones, and that to him it is the most cherished of all faiths, and the one that seems to him to be in America the most capable of being aided.[1] He then proceeds to "a simple exposition of our Lutheran Confession," in which he dwells upon each clause of the familiar confessional prayer:

"*I, a poor, miserable, sinful man.*" I, a *poor* man, who know of nothing to help me; I, a *miserable* man, distressed by my poverty, and conscious of what I lack; I, a *sinful* man, who, even though I am a child of God, even though I have grace, have, until the grave, sinful flesh, and bear the treasure which I have from my Saviour in an earthen vessel, in order that the surpassing power may be of God, and not of me.

"*Confess unto thee all my sins and offenses.*" "Who is it to whom we here make confession? Who is it, according to our Lutheran doctrine? Do you know who it is?" says Luther.

> "Jesus Christ it is,
> Of Sabaoth Lord,
> And there's none other God."

To him we confess, not that we are, by nature, miserable men; he knows that, for he bore our humanity; but that we have pained and crucified him anew by actual sins and offenses. . . .

[1] Eine Sammburg, "Öffentlicher Reden," Büdingen, 1744.

"*That we have deserved temporal and everlasting punishment.*" That is true; and I most of you all. For the more the Saviour bestows upon one his grace and mercy, the longer we be with him, the more disgraceful is all want of fidelity, the greater all transgressions; the least frivolity of a child of God is a greater sin than it is for an unconverted man to be drunk or to steal. If I know that I ought to do good and do it not, either from love of ease or from fear, I have far more guilt than another. We are, therefore, all alike before the Lord, viz., sinners. One has more, another less; the offenses of one are greater because he has received more grace, and therefore more discernment. Hence one kind of poor sinners always comes together; the one that is so bad, and the other that is no better. . . .

He closed the exposition with the words, "Now I am through with the confession." The absolution he next gave, in the following form:

Upon the great word of my Lord, upon the assurance which I have in my soul of his fidelity and of his love, I announce to you the grace to heartily repent of your sins, and to believe in Jesus Christ, the assistance of God the Holy Ghost in laying aside your sinful will, and freedom in Christ's blood to amend your lives; and by virtue of my office, as a called and ordained minister of Christ, I forgive all those of you who believe all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

After a hymn another address was made, treating of the assurance which the Holy Supper gives the faith of believers:

I know, with the greatest certainty, that he will impart to you the divine power of his Spirit and of his life, since Jesus Christ and his body, which was pierced and hung upon the tree for us, and his living blood, which was shed for us, are present and distributed with the bread and wine. . . . I invite you, then, to eat his flesh and to drink his blood, not as a sign, not as a figure, but as a reality, as a substance, as a truth, as a sacrament, for the forgiveness of sins, for life and salvation.

As if to vouch for the thoroughly Lutheran character of the service, he appends the mode in which the order of the communion followed:

1. The Lord's Prayer. 2. The words of institution concerning the bread. 3. Choir: "Wir glauben all und bekennen frei." 4. The words of institution concerning the

wine. 5. "O Welt, sieh hier dein Leben," during which 6. The communion. 7. Thanksgiving Collect. 8. Benediction.[1]

The next step was his election as pastor. On May 26, 1742, he induced the Governor of Pennsylvania to give him an audience, at which Benjamin Franklin, William Allen, James Hamilton, and other prominent men were present. He delivered to them a Latin address explaining why he desired, while in America, to lay aside his title of "count" and assume that simply of Mr. von Thürnstein. Instead of this he assumed the ecclesiastical title "Evangelical Lutheran Inspector and Pastor at Philadelphia."[2] At a conference in Germantown he announced that he had re-established in Philadelphia the true, primitive, and correct Lutheran religion, and that all who had deserted their religions must return thither, viz., to the Lutheran Church.[3] He showed his earnestness by publishing an edition of Luther's Small Cathechism.

Meanwhile, however, his influence was felt in the Reformed Church. A turner by the name of Bechtel was made pastor of the Reformed Church in Germantown, and then consecrated by Bishop Nitzschmann and Zinzendorf as inspector, elder, and teacher over the other Reformed preachers.[4] Rev. J. P. Böhme, the Reformed pastor of Philadelphia, whose permission to preach in the Lutheran Church Zinzendorf had so courteously asked, was indignant at this interference, without his advice or consent, in the affairs of the Reformed Church, and issued a vigorous pamphlet of ninety-six pages, warning his brethren against the count.[5] For the Reformed Churches he also prepared

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 100–107. 2 See title-page of above book.
3 Fresenius' "Herrnhutische Nachrichten," p. 184.
4 Fresenius, vol. iii., p. 182.
5 Full synopsis in Fresenius, vol. iii., pp. 562 sqq.

a substitute for the Heidelberg Catechism, and published it under Bechtel's name.[1] This remarkable document comprised the articles of the synod of Berne of 1532, by substituting which he cut loose from all connection with Calvin, providing, at the same time, a confession of the Reformed Church and a series of questions asked by "one desirous of instruction," and answered, as far as possible, in Scriptural language, by "a believer."

When Zinzendorf introduced Rev. J. C. Pyrlaeus, a former Leipzig student, into the Lutheran congregation as his assistant, the new minister was carried bodily from the church to the street and insulted, Spangenberg says, by "some wicked people who called themselves Reformed."[2] Zinzendorf was active also at Tulpehocken, and at other points, as Heidelberg, Oley, and Falckner's Swamp. But even before Muhlenberg arrived, the necessity of a separate organization for his adherents in Philadelphia had become manifest, and a Moravian church was erected and consecrated, November 25, 1742.[3]

Of the eight conferences which Zinzendorf held with the view of uniting the denominations in his scheme of church union, the first, as we have seen, was held in Germantown, January 1st; the second, at Falckner's Swamp, January 14th and 15th; the third, at Oley, February 10th–12th; and the fourth, at Germantown, March 10–12, 1742. Of the last, it is said that the members were composed of Moravians, Reformed, Lutherans, and Baptists, and that the Quakers would have been represented, if it had not been that an effectual barrier was interposed by the diversity of language. Among the principles of the organization were the following:

[1] Account with criticism and ample extracts in "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. vii., pp. 952 sqq.

[2] "Life of Zinzendorf," p. 298.

[3] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "Lutheran Year-book," p. 209.

All children of God, in all religions in Pennsylvania, are in duty bound to hold to the conference.

If any child of God be at the same time a servant of Christ, he is, first of all, bound to his own religion.

And if in the future a servant of Christ abandon his religion without our previous knowledge, we no longer recognize him as a servant of Christ.

Hence it follows:

I. That no child of God will speak against our conference; for this would be contrary to his heart.

II. That if a servant and child of God merely from love to his people will not attend our conference, we cannot reckon it against him.

A prominent lay member of several of these conferences was the distinguished Indian agent, Conrad Weiser, of whom we have already heard as a member of the Schoharie colony that had floated down the Susquehanna and located at Tulpehocken. He was afterward to become the father-in-law of Muhlenberg.

The longer Zinzendorf's activity continued, the greater injury was being done by the confusion he was creating, which could not be compensated by all the graces of his Christian character and his undoubted consuming zeal for Christ. But if Zinzendorf had not entered in this irregular way, would Muhlenberg have ever been sent? It required his presence to excite the Halle authorities to the peril of the situation.

When the struggle became so severe that Zinzendorf withdrew with his adherents to found a church of his own, although still claiming to be the Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia, a still greater danger arose, if his influence could have lasted, when a dismissed Lutheran minister from Germany, John Valentine Kraft, became pastor of another fragment of the Philadelphia congregation, and also claimed to be superintendent of the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania, and to have organized a consistorium of which he was head.[1] In this dark hour Muhlenberg arrived.

[1] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, *ibid.*, p. 209.

PERIOD II.

THE FIRST ATTEMPTS AT ORGANIZATION.

A.D. 1742–1817.

CHAPTER XII.

MUHLENBERG'S CALL AND ARRIVAL.

THE year 1742 is eventful in the history of the Lutheran Church in America. It would be wrong to designate it as that of the foundation of the church. Over one hundred years of struggle had already elapsed. Although the results attained seem small—and they seem now still smaller when we can trace the course of the Dutch churches in New York, the Swedish in Pennsylvania and Delaware, and the German in Georgia, which was yet to follow—nevertheless we may readily be betrayed into an underestimate. The period which now begins does not mark the introduction of an entirely new and independent element from Germany which ignores the experience of the preceding century. Whatever advance it made was by the proper appreciation of the lessons, and appropriation of the results, of the former era. We will note hereafter the great foresight of Muhlenberg in always adhering closely to the historical line of development.

But this did not conflict with the introduction of new energy and spirit into the work, or of new influences springing from a wider view of the situation and a more distinct conception of the importance of the new period that was approaching. The age of experiments was to give way to that of a more distinct effort for complete and permanent organization. Hitherto there had been little conception of the relation of the work to any future Lutheran Church which was to comprehend members scattered

throughout the entire country. The Lutheran pastors felt themselves called simply to provide for the spiritual wants of individual souls, and only, as an end to this, to look to the interests of congregations. Whether the organizations they founded were to long survive was a matter with which they had little concern. They could not see far ahead and did not trouble themselves about it. Some may have been inclined to think that the language of each center of development would be preserved, but others shrunk from contemplating the consequences of a change which they dreaded would be fatal to the Lutheran faith. The American church's independence of European support could scarcely enter their minds as in any way feasible. The possibility of "standing alone," educating and supporting their own pastors and administering their own discipline, is a problem for which, even at present, a century and a half of additional experience has not provided a solution in some quarters. It was felt that if the connection with Sweden or Germany were broken, the ecclesiastical connection must be with England. For this we dare not blame them; their eyes were closed, since God's hour for action had not yet come. But Muhlenberg came with his favorite motto, *Ecclesia plantanda*. It was not simply congregations, but a church, which he had in mind; congregations had been planted, but a church was to be planted. With him we pass from the period of mere congregational to that of synodical organization.

Born of a noble family that had lost its titles and possessions by the vicissitudes of the wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, on September 6, 1711, at Eimbeck in Hanover, he inherited the organizing talent of the North Germans, and the dignified and courteous bearing of the higher classes, which a humbler lot and Christian fellowship with the lowliest never obscured. His pride was

checked and his youth disciplined in the school of poverty. The necessity of earning a livelihood interrupted, at an early age, his attendance on school, but could not suppress his efforts to devote all his leisure hours to study. At an age when a number of his future associates were already in the ministry we find him still occupied with elementary studies, and forcing his way, over all difficulties, through a full course of thorough preparation for the ministry—for he would not think of pleading his years as an excuse for abbreviating it.

Entering in 1735 the University of Göttingen, among its very first students he is found, the succeeding year, making the beginning of the Göttingen Orphan House by gathering neglected children for gratuitous instruction in the elementary branches. He had become a zealous adherent of the school of Spener, and had gained the friendship and support of several influential noblemen of deep religious feeling, Counts Reuss and Henkel. The theological faculty of Göttingen of that time consisted of J. W. Feuerlein, M. Crusius, J. Operin—in whose house Muhlenberg lived—C. A. Heumann, and J. F. Cotta.[1] Completing the course in three years, he spent a short time at the University of Jena, and then was for a year teacher in the Orphan House at Halle, where he was selected as a missionary for India. Although his heart was fixed upon the East Indian field, the authorities were unable to provide the means to send him, and in August, 1739, he accordingly accepted a call to Grosshennersdorf in Lusatia, only a few miles from Zinzendorf's center, Herrnhut. The congregation, which had two pastors, was under the patronage of the Baroness von Gersdorf, Zinzendorf's aunt, who, however, had no sympathy with the methods of her nephew. Besides the congregation, there was an Orphans' Home,

[1] "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. ii., p. 761.

supported by the generosity of the baroness, for which his services were required. For this place he was ordained at Leipzig, August 24, 1739, his ordination certificate, signed by Drs. Andrew Wagner, Gottfried Lange, S. Deyling, and C. F. Boerner, containing the following testimony to his confessional position:

> In agreement with apostolic doctrine, through the public and pious rite, we commended to him the ministry of teaching the gospel and administering the sacraments, according to the call and rule given in the writings of the prophets and apostles, the sum of which is contained in the three symbols—the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian—in the Augsburg Confession, A.D. 1530, laid before Emperor Charles V., in the Apology of the same, in Dr. Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, in the articles subscribed in the Smalcald Convention and in the Formula of Concord, written A.D. 1576 on controverted points of doctrine. For he solemnly promised that he would propose to his hearers what would be conformed and consentient to these writings, and that he would never depart from the sense they give.[1]

During the short period that he remained at Grosshennersdorf he appeared, for the only time in his life, as an author, in a controversial tract, published in 1741, against Dr. Balthasar Mentzer, general superintendent of the Duchy of Callenberg, and grandson of a Marburg theologian of the preceding century, who bore the same name. Dr. Mentzer had written a book, entitled "Words of Warning," against the private meetings of the so-called Pietists, which Muhlenberg, with discrimination and soberness, defended as called for when the regularly appointed pastors are negligent concerning the spiritual interests of those under their care.[2]

On September 6, 1741, while on a visit to Halle, Francke asked him, at supper, whether he would be willing to accept a call to America, and received the immediate answer that,

[1] Translation of certificate, by Dr. W. J. Mann, in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. vi., p. 28.

[2] Besides the long extracts in new edition of "Hallesche Nachrichten," see "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. v., pp. 708–714.

if such were the will of God, he would certainly go. The arrangement made by Francke and Ziegenhagen was that the call should be accepted for three years, and the necessary expenses should be defrayed from the proceeds of the collections made a few years previously.

On his way, his presence at his former home, Eimbeck, where he preached and met friends for religious conversation on Sunday evening, resulted in his being summoned before the superintendent. Both before him and before the consistorium at Hanover he successfully defended himself against all accusers. Hanover had the same ruler as Great Britain (George II.). The approval of Muhlenberg by the consistorium was his indorsement by the ecclesiastical authorities of the king, whose German subjects in America Muhlenberg was on the way to serve. His call came not merely from the three congregations, but was thus supported by that of the highest civil authority in the country, and therefore there was no intrusion into the territory of another. He could assert the same legal right for himself and those acting with him as the Church of England had. This explains the statement which Muhlenberg afterward made that "the English laws do not allow any sect, or any religious party, to build churches except the Episcopalians, and besides them the Lutherans."[1]

He did not feel himself competent to immediately enter into his field of labor, as though a voyage across the ocean were all that were needed to give a foreign pastor a complete understanding of the differences between the field he was leaving and the one he was entering. He applied himself to the thorough understanding of his new relations by spending over two months in England, engaged in

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 20. A note of the editors explains this as referring to erection of buildings with steeples and bells. Meeting-houses for other denominations were not prohibited.

learning the English language, and in daily intercourse with the pastors of the London Lutheran churches. The advantage which this gave him in dealing with the English in America cannot be estimated.

Almost as much time was spent on the ocean as in England. The voyage lasted fourteen weeks and three days. It was attended by many trials, the most serious being the failure of the water, and the great distress which was suffered, and the imminent danger of death by thirst.[1] On the way he not only preached and administered the communion to a Salzburg family who accompanied them, but after a time preached also to the rest in his very imperfect English, and read the prayers found in the Book of Common Prayer. It is difficult to see what compromise of his confessional position could be found in this, especially when no other liturgy was at hand, and, without it, he could not have served to the edification of the audience. Had he had less confidence in the correctness of his position as a Lutheran, he might have been more scrupulous in using prayers whose Lutheran character cannot be readily assailed and whose Lutheran origin can be readily traced, but which he might have foreseen could expose him, in a later age, to criticism, as being unfaithful to his principles. The spiritual interests of those with him in the ship outweighed all such considerations. The leisure of the voyage was also employed in seeking opportunities, in private conversation, to bring religious subjects to the attention of the passengers.

Reaching Charleston, S. C., September 24th, and met by

[1] "This want of water was so extreme that the very rats suffered from it. It had been noticed that some of them had gnawed out the stopples of bottles containing vinegar, then introduced their tails into the liquid, and then sought to allay their thirst by drawing their tails through their mouths. Others would mount the beds at night and lick the perspiration off the brows of the people who were asleep."—"Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 12; English translation, p. 18.

Pastor Gronau at Savannah, he reached Ebenezer October 4th. Eight days were spent in familiarizing himself with the work of Boltzius and Gronau, as already described. He entered America only through the German Lutheran Church as already established there, even though it was exceedingly feeble in its beginnings. The Salzburg pastors were greatly refreshed by his presence and the addresses which he made at their devotional meetings. He partook of the Lord's Supper with them, and the blessing of the Lord upon his commission formed the subject of earnest entreaty in public prayer. We can readily imagine the topics which occupied them in their conferences, viz.: the progress of spirituality in the church in Germany; the Orphan House at Halle, in which all three pastors had been teachers; the best methods to apply Lutheran practices to a congregational life independent of state control; the best methods of reaching the hearts and consciences of the people, and building up their spiritual life; the various religious bodies arising in America; the career of Wesley; the many kindnesses of Whitefield, his fervent spirit and resistless power as a preacher; the strange reports that were arriving concerning the proceedings of Zinzendorf in Pennsylvania and the possible conflict with him before the work to which Muhlenberg was called could be successfully established.

Pastor Boltzius, who had heretofore declined to go to Pennsylvania, was so interested in his guest that he was persuaded to accompany and introduce him to his new field. Muhlenberg wished to make prominent to the people in Pennsylvania the fact of his close connection with the Lutheran Church established thus far in the country, and that it was nothing more than an extension and development of it in another colony that he was seeking. The delay to find a vessel at Charleston discouraged the Geor-

gia pastor, and after a stay of four days he returned, while Muhlenberg had to spend nearly six weeks there, until, on November 1, 1742, he was again on his way. The voyage of a fortnight from Charleston to New York was as trying as the one across the ocean. The proceedings of some of Zinzendorf's conferences which had fallen into his hands at Charleston made him the more anxious to be on the ground. November 25th should ever be celebrated as the anniversary of his arrival in Philadelphia.

There were none in Philadelphia to meet and welcome the pastor who had been called by their authority. He came as an entire stranger, and had to make a place for himself where others occupied it. It seems that the letter of 1739, on the part of the three congregations, had been answered neither from London nor from Halle. No word had been sent in advance of Muhlenberg's commission. A former member of the Salzburg colony was the channel through which his presence was known and the introduction to the new field made. Before night came he was making his way toward New Hanover, through roads in which his horse repeatedly sunk in mire so deep that his situation was perilous. Impostors had intruded into all three congregations. With determination, but with dignity and courtesy, he asserted his claims, showing his call from Ziegenhagen, so that, without any violent conflict, he soon became full master of the field.

It is interesting to trace how Muhlenberg's beginning in Philadelphia followed historical lines. Two prominent laymen were sought, and through them he gained a hearing. One was Peter Kock, who had been for a long time the best known among the Swedes, and the father-in-law of the recently deceased and greatly lamented pastor of Gloria Dei Church. The other was Henry Schleydorn, who had been equally active in the Dutch Church of New York

City, and had been one of the officers of that congregation signing the commission to the Consistory of Amsterdam which had resulted in the call of Berkenmeyer. On his first Sunday in Philadelphia he preached in the morning in the barn or carpenter's shop on Arch Street and in Gloria Dei Church, where Dylander had regularly held a German service in the afternoon. It was not called an installation, but it was virtually such, when, on a later Sunday afternoon, the Swedish pastor from Wilmington, Rev. Peter Tranberg, demanded of Muhlenberg his credentials, and, publicly reading the call from Ziegenhagen, the ordination certificate, the diploma from Göttingen, and the papers from Providence and New Hanover, obtained from the officers of the German Church of Philadelphia their acknowledgment of the call. Thus the Salzburgers, the Dutch, and the Swedes united in establishing Muhlenberg's position.

Zinzendorf, professing still to be pastor of the original Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia, retained the church record, and surrendered it only when the courts compelled him. The interview between Zinzendorf and Muhlenberg (December 8th), recorded by the latter in his autobiography,[1] shows in clearest light the traits of character that distinguished his entire career. Courteous, self-possessed, dignified, determined, candid, he reads at once the character of those with whom he has to deal, and with the greatest ease and promptness has at hand the right answer for every difficulty. No man, however numerous his titles or great his distinction, or even eminent his services for Christ, could overawe him. In this case the circumstances were peculiar, because of Muhlenberg's intimacy, as their former pastor, with Zinzendorf's near relatives, their common connection with Halle, and the fact that such a con-

[1] Translated in Dr. Mann's "Life and Times of Muhlenberg," pp. 117–124.

flict was probably anticipated from the time he was called to America, and certainly was in prospect ever since he had read at Charleston the reports from Pennsylvania. But the situation was the more trying because when Muhlenberg proceeded, unattended, to what he supposed was to be a private conference, he found himself confronted by all the formalities of a trial, and directed to take his seat at the foot of a table which was surrounded by an assemblage of adherents, over whom the count presided, and whom the count called "the officers of the Lutheran congregation." Under such provocation he had to make answer before this "inspector of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania" as though all the credentials of his regular appointment amounted to nothing. The only ground afforded for any of the claims of the count was that the neglect and silence of the authorities in London and Halle for so many years seemed to imply a desertion of the field, and invalidated the authority to give a call which had been vested in them in 1733. What followed is thus stated by Bishop Spangenberg:[1] "The newly arrived clergyman, who was an able and talented man, soon formed a party; whilst those to whom the count's ministry had been blessed adhered to him. The result at length was this: the count thought it best to let the preacher above mentioned and his subsequent assistants act as they pleased, being satisfied if only Christ were preached."

Within less than a month the count was on his way to England, all prospects of carrying out his scheme[2] in America having been frustrated. His mission had not been in vain, for the scattered sheep now had a shepherd.

1 Page 299.

2 "When Muhlenberg came to the country Count Zinzendorf was in a fair way to bring under him the whole German population."—Acrelius, p. 248.

CHAPTER XIII.

BEGINNING THE WORK.

A BARN or carpenter-shop in Philadelphia, a barn at Providence (The Trappe), a partially completed church at New Hanover, were the places of worship of Muhlenberg's three congregations. New Hanover was thirty-six miles from Philadelphia and ten from Providence, with the roads of the most primitive order.

A few pounds were left in Muhlenberg's hands from the amount given him in Europe for his traveling expenses. The New Hanover congregation provided him with a horse. The Providence people gave him nothing whatever, while in Philadelphia his salary did not pay his house rent; the excuse being made in both these places that the privilege of his support should be accorded "the dear fathers in Halle." In the face of this he abolished fees for baptisms and contributions for the pastor laid on the altar at the Lord's Supper, thus completely sapping the sources of income of impostors, who were always eager for such opportunities, and most effectually chilling their ardor in obtruding themselves upon congregations. He would allow no collections at the public services for the pastor's support, since they were apt to be misunderstood and abused. Well as he was provided for amidst his pastoral duties from the plenty of the fertile farms of his parishioners, this did not prevent his clothing from wearing out, or his horses from succumbing to the fatigue of his incessant journeys. Debts for the simplest necessaries of life grew upon him with alarming rapidity.

But he knew that his services were above all money value. He found his compensation in his work itself, and was just as sure that these embarrassments would only be temporary as he was that the Lord had called him to the field.

The ignorance of the young moved him at once to open a school, giving in each congregation successively a week of instruction. The university graduate and author becomes the teacher; and among his pupils, "youths of seventeen, eighteen, nineteen, twenty years of age appear with the A B C book."[1] He regarded such instruction preliminary to their preparation for confirmation.

In New Hanover the small log church became entirely inadequate for the numbers who crowded to the services, and in January he preached one Sunday in the open air.

There was probably at first an effort made to follow, in some respects, the model of the Ebenezer colony; but with the expansion of the field this soon became impossible. He felt a heavier responsibility resting upon him than that simply of the three congregations. As they became more thoroughly organized, the care of the other Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania he believed to be clearly comprehended in his commission, and showed his readiness to respond to their call for help. The first of these congregations was that at Germantown, which he first visited in February, 1743, and to which he preached during the week, as his other duties allowed, until the arrival of Brunnholtz. In the following summer he was called to Tulpehocken to adjust a difficulty that had rent the congregation into three factions, and where Zinzendorf had been active. By his recommendation Rev. Tobias Wagner, grandson of a former chancellor of the University of Tübingen, and ancestor of a future provost of the University of Pennsylvania (Professor Stille), who, after a pastorate

[1] Mann's "Life and Times of Muhlenberg," p. 130.

at Horkheim, had just arrived in this country, became pastor of that charge.

The erection of churches occupied a large portion of his time and energy during the first years of his ministry. In the spring of 1743 cornerstones were laid both in Philadelphia and at The Trappe. The latter church was dedicated October 6, 1745, and, although long since deserted for purposes of worship, still stands, the object of veneration to all Lutherans who visit the locality, and a most sacred bequest for future generations. St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia, was not completed until 1748. The church at New Hanover was completed in 1747. At Tulpehocken Christ's Church was built in 1743, while the church at Germantown was enlarged in 1746. Muhlenberg's presence seemed to infuse a new life in all directions.

It was at once seen that more laborers must be sent to his aid. He obtained partial relief when a Mr. J. F. Vigera, a former Strassburg merchant, who had conducted a "transport" of Salzburgers to Ebenezer in 1741, and who is referred to with the highest respect in the reports of Boltzius, came to Pennsylvania near the close of 1743, and entered upon the duties of a teacher, first at New Hanover, afterward at Providence, and still later at Lancaster. In the absence of the pastor he would conduct a service and read a sermon.

On January 26, 1745, three accessions reached Philadelphia from Halle—one pastor and two catechists. The pastor was the Rev. Peter Brunnholtz, a native of Holstein. His call, signed by Francke, April 24, 1744,[1] charged him "to teach the Word of God in public and in private, pure and incorrupt, according to the rule and guidance of the Holy Scriptures, and also of the symbolical books of the

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., pp. 83 sqq.; English translation, pp. 122–125.

Evangelical Lutheran Church." Ordained at Wernigerode April 12th, his oath contained the pledge:

To be faithful to the Word of God, pure and incorrupt, even as the same is contained, according to the mind of the Spirit, in the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, and also as it is concisely repeated and distinctly set forth in the three chief symbols, and also specifically in the symbolical books of the true Lutheran Church, to wit, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, its Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the two catechisms of Luther, and the special Formula of Concord, all drawn with great diligence out of the Holy Scriptures, and prepared in direct opposition to all false teachings, and that I shall, not only for myself, by the help of God, abide steadfast in the same until I die, but also labor with the utmost diligence to build up the congregations which God may commit to my care, according to this rule, in the pure, true faith, and in Christian love, opposing, with all my might, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, whatever may hinder this faith and love, and whatever errors might work harm to souls.

The two catechists were John Nicholas Kurtz and John Helfrich Schaum, both sons of parochial schoolteachers in the neighborhood of Giessen, and, like their fathers, intimate friends. The former wrote: "Ever since my childhood, my dear parents strove diligently to bring me up under the influence of prayer and of the fear of the Lord." He referred with gratitude to the aid that he had received in his spiritual life from the instructions of Fresenius, when the latter was pastor at Giessen.[1] Kurtz had followed Schaum to the University of Halle, and both, before completing the course, responded to the call for laborers for America. Both had to overcome great opposition on the part of their parents, who finally, only with great reluctance and distress, yielded to the firmness of their sons' convictions of duty.

As in Muhlenberg's case, the trip was made by way of England. The interest awakened by the reports from Muhlenberg as they were published, opened streams of

1 "Autobiographical Sketch," "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 137; English translation, p. 212.

liberality to such an extent that not only were all expenses of the journey provided for, but a handsome balance remained to be devoted to the building of the new churches.

Brunnholtz was at once installed by Muhlenberg in all four congregations as his associate. Before dividing the charge it was deemed best for the new pastor to learn fully all the details of the work as it had thus far progressed. This division was made in June, 1745, when Brunnholtz gave indications of breaking down from the fatigue and exposure of the long and constant rides needful for covering the entire territory. The older pastor, who had only recently been married to the daughter of the distinguished Indian agent, Conrad Weiser, cheerfully moved from Philadelphia, leaving the congregation there and that at Germantown in charge of Brunnholtz, while he became pastor at New Hanover and Providence, with his home at the latter place. Kurtz was located as catechist at New Hanover, and Schaum, in Philadelphia. For twelve years Brunnholtz labored manfully against the infirmities of a frail constitution, with the deepest sympathy and the warmest love of his older colleague. Kurtz and Schaum both did efficient work in New Jersey under Muhlenberg's supervision during the distress of the Raritan congregations; both in time became efficient pastors, and the names of descendants of the former will appear on these pages among the more prominent pastors and leaders of later generations.

A few years later (1748) John Frederick Handschuh, a pastor thirty-four years of age, who had been baptized by August Hermann Francke and had served a charge for four years at Graba, was called, and on his arrival located at Lancaster.

A pastor long associated with Muhlenberg, although not called for the Pennsylvania work or by the authorities at

Halle, was John Christopher Hartwig, whose name survives in Hartwick Seminary in central New York, partially endowed with funds which he bequeathed. Hartwig was a Thuringian, born in 1714, who had for a short time been connected with the institution of Dr. Callenberg in Hamburg for the conversion of the Jews. He was called in 1745 to the pastorate of the churches along the Hudson, with Rhinebeck as the center, and was ordained for the work in London by two pastors of the Savoy Church and the pastor of the Swedish Church. He was chaplain of a German regiment in the French and Indian War. He visited Muhlenberg in 1747, acted for a time as a substitute for Brunnholtz during the latter's illness, and participated in the arbitration to settle the difficulties in the Raritan congregations, as well as in the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1748. He was a life-long bachelor, noted for his eccentricities, and continued, until the close of his life, in 1796, his attachments and visits to the descendants of Muhlenberg, as he had previously been devoted to their father. Tradition tells that the domestics dreaded his appearance because of the excessively long prayers which he made at family worship. In the various difficulties which arose in his congregations and with his neighbors Muhlenberg was always his trusted adviser.

With the pioneer missionary, Stoever, Muhlenberg had no intimacy, although in 1748, at the intervention of Fresenius, writing him a most kind letter of advice, and indicating the way by which he might labor harmoniously and successfully with the other pastors, who were about forming the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Fifteen years later Mr. Stoever entered the ministerium.

Besides the difficulties which he was called in to adjust in the Raritan congregations in New Jersey and the Tulpehocken charge, the troubles of the congregation at Lan-

caster required his attention. Before Muhlenberg's arrival, in the absence of any other authorities to look after it this congregation had put itself under the care of the Church of Sweden. After the death of the Swedish pastor, Dylander, who had preached regularly to the Germans of Lancaster, a formal petition for a Swedish pastor had been presented in 1741 to the King of Sweden, and a Mr. Hedstrand of East Gothland was appointed and ordained for the place, but could not enter upon the field, since the expected means to defray his traveling expenses never reached Sweden.[1] But a man was not wanting for the place, when a Mr. L. T. Nyberg, who in Sweden had heard of the vacancy, introduced himself as ready to become their pastor. It was not known at the time, but was discovered afterward, that he was a Moravian. The conflict was a violent one, and rent the congregation. Muhlenberg proceeded thither in 1746, asserted the rights of the Lutheran portion, compelled Nyberg and his adherents to withdraw and build a church of their own, and had the congregation give the officials at Halle and London the same authority as had been given by the three congregations when he had been called. The result, as above seen, was the coming of Handschuh.

An example of one of Muhlenberg's missionary journeys may be appropriately introduced. In June, 1747, before the arrival of Pastor Handschuh, Muhlenberg visited Lancaster on his way to Maryland. Throughout this entire trip, which extended to Monocacy, near Frederick, Md., he met constantly the traces of Nyberg's influence, and was compelled to vigorously assail them. One Sunday he preached at Tulpehocken; the next (21st), at Lancaster. On Monday he found at Hanover, York County, the same church conflict. The next day he preached in a large

[1] Acrelius, p. 241.

barn to a crowd of people assembled from far and near, and baptized children, but declined to administer the Lord's Supper. He and his companions rode until night overtook them. A storm arose. The rain fell in torrents. The road was seen only by the frequent flashes of lightning. After a ride of thirty-six miles, through streams and mud, half dead they reached their destination at two o'clock in the morning. What was the goal? A small "frame church, and two parties in the congregation."[1]

Notwithstanding the heavy rain of the next day, that church contained an audience. Muhlenberg says:

> Before we began the service I had them give me the church book, and I wrote in it, in the English language, several articles, among others that our German Lutherans confess the holy Word of God in the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, and besides the Augsburg Confession the other symbolical books; and, where it can be done, they have the sacraments administered to them by regularly called and ordained ministers, and, according to their rules, do not allow open, gross, and persistent offenders against the Ten Commandments and the civil laws to be regarded as members, etc. This I read publicly to the congregation, and explained it in German, and added that he who would be and would remain such a Lutheran should subscribe his name.

He continues to relate how while the Lutherans subscribed, those who had been under Moravian influence hesitated, until after a penitential service, in which Muhlenberg preached, they expressed their willingness to add their names provided he would become their pastor. The evidences of penitence were such that he did not feel justified in refusing the Lord's Supper to all ready to unite in the subscription. He explains at length in his account his reasons for insisting upon this. It would avoid endless trouble in the future if the courts would have the confessional position thus clearly stated in the English language.[2] Nevertheless, he acknowledges that it was hard to decide

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 234; new ed., p. 352.

[2] *Ibid.*, new ed., p. 354.

on which side of the controversy the greater justice lay. The greater part of those on the Lutheran side, he feared, was composed of unconverted men, while the faith of the Moravian party "rested more upon deceptive fancies and sensuous emotions, and not upon the alone saving words of the prophets and apostles, in which Jesus is the corner-stone." But "the Lutherans have the Bible and the catechism, and this excites the hope that, in time, the Word will come to them with saving power." [1]

The next day he was at Frederick, preaching to a large audience of Germans and English, and administering baptism and the Lord's Supper. On his return journey he had a long conversation with an English gentleman who contrasted the apparently holy life and earnest devotion of the Moravians with the shameful life of a pretended Lutheran preacher, by the name of Carl Rudolph, who imposed on German emigrants in almost all their settlements, beginning in Georgia and ending in New York. Muhlenberg explained that he had no hatred to the persons, but that he abhorred the methods of these opponents, and that Zinzendorf's principles, if consistently adhered to, would compel him in Russia to adhere to the Greek Church, in Catholic countries to be submissive to the pope, among the Swiss to adopt the propositions of Berne, in England to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, and in Sweden to shield himself behind the Augsburg Confession. The statement of these details is necessary for a correct presentation of the nature of Muhlenberg's work and an understanding of its manifold relations.

Arriving at York about noon on Saturday, he began the preparation for the Holy Supper on the next day by a searching examination of those who purposed to commune, beginning with the parochial schoolteacher and the elders

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 354 sq.

of the church. At four o'clock preparatory service was held. He preached on Matthew xi. 8 sqq. "The people drank the Word as the dry earth does a summer shower." Then he met the young people whom the teacher had prepared for confirmation, and examined, instructed, and exhorted them. After this he had a private interview with some who had been awakened by his sermon. Early Sunday morning he had private confession with a number from a distance, and another public confession before the regular service. Fully half the audience had to stand outside of the church. A number of children were baptized, fifteen were confirmed, and two hundred persons received the Lord's Supper. Early on Monday morning he held a service of prayer with the members of the congregation in the town, and, bidding them farewell, proceeded on his way.

The inner side of the pastoral work of Muhlenberg, as recorded in the Halle "Reports," well repays careful and frequent reading. They afford most instructive examples in pastoral theology, that are as valuable for their suggestions as any theoretical treatise on the subject. The interest of the friends of the Halle missions was maintained by the full accounts which their missionaries, both in the East Indies and in America, transmitted to them concerning the traces of the blessing of God upon the Word as administered through the missions. The triumphs of God's grace in the hearts of men, and the evidence of this in the life, were the subjects of their most frequent and earnest consideration. The danger, of course, was ever present of laying an excessive importance upon visible results, and of losing faith in the efficacy of the Word, even when no such tokens could claim attention. But with this caution in mind, the accounts given must repeat in every age the gratitude which, when first published, they awakened

among the adherents of Halle. There are scores, if not hundreds, of such examples, as they form a very large portion of the Halle "Reports." We note a few belonging to this earlier period.

One is that of a man in Philadelphia who, impoverished by drunkenness and gambling, was compelled to emigrate. Well instructed in religion, his profanity was freely expended upon those who were thought to err from the Lutheran doctrine. Even Muhlenberg fell under his suspicions because his sermons did not bristle with polemics. At last a lingering illness seized him. He realized the guilt of his sinful life and his entire corruption. The Word as taught him by the pastor brought him peace, and he departed with hymns of praise upon his lips. "God," as we hope, "delivered this poor sinner as a brand from the burning; his holy name be praised!"[1]

Another is that of a godly widow of a husband who had been indifferent to the spiritual interests of his children. The sons followed the course of the father; the daughters, that of the mother. The sons reviled the Word of God, while the mother and sisters were most regular in attendance and devout in worship. With tears the widow repeatedly sought the consolation of the pastor. God soon delivered her from her sorrow, after receiving the Lord's Supper and sending her thanks to the fathers in Halle for their interest in neglected souls in America.

A godly couple in Philadelphia, before Muhlenberg's arrival and regular German services could be held, had felt deeply their destitution. The husband learned Swedish, in order that he might be edified by the preaching of the gospel in the Lutheran Church; but the wife had been unable to make the same progress, faithfully as she had

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., pp. 149–151.

tried. The prayers and hymns committed to memory in her childhood had been her greatest comfort.

A boy, ten years of age, at New Hanover, was suddenly taken ill. He called for his Testament, and, turning to John iii. 16, read it several times, and added: "Dear mother, with this text I will go to heaven."

Another child, six years old, was ill. Before dying, he said, with surprising maturity of mind, to his father: "I am going from this wicked world to heaven, where my dear Redeemer Jesus Christ and all the holy angels dwell; there I will eternally praise my God, who has created, redeemed, and sanctified me." He sank to rest as his father sang a favorite hymn.

No more interesting example is given than that of the venerable father of Conrad Weiser, the grandfather of Mrs. Muhlenberg, one of Kocherthal's flock. At a great age he journeyed to visit his relatives, and to converse on religious matters. So feeble was he that for twenty-four hours after his arrival he was compelled to absolutely rest. The knowledge of Scripture and the verses of hymns he repeated astonished his spiritual adviser, so that he adds to the account the remark:

> Oh, how well it is when, during youth, a treasure has been gathered from the living Word of God! Even though when, because of many hindrances, it does not immediately bring forth fruit, nevertheless God remains faithful, and does everything in his time. I have seen in this soul a beautiful example of how the Spirit of God and the Word are united. It is a true joy to see the old Evangelical Lutheran truths living in a soul. But how sad it is when men, from a love for novelty, tread upon these venerable and precious treasures with their feet, and make new sects, which, while according to the outward shell they appear somewhat more polished than it is in the old way, nevertheless, so far as the kernel is concerned, the two are not worthy of being compared.[1]

The searching character of his examinations as a faithful physician of souls may be learned from the following:

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 162 sq.; new ed., pp. 244 sqq.

There was in New Hanover a venerable married couple who belonged to the congregation. Their temperament was altogether melancholy, and they were devoted to the riches of this world and the cares of their bodily support. This had become such a habit that all our pains and labor seemed in vain. With all this, they were outwardly honorable, strict and accurate in their transactions and life, unwearied in their attendance upon divine service, and never omitted morning and evening prayers. I think that such temperament is the most apt of all to give the appearance of godliness and to deny its power. When the point at which their hearts were sick was touched, they were ready with numberless answers, some from God's Word, and others from reason, and generally appealed to God, the Searcher of hearts. I and my assistant, Mr. Kurtz, have, at various times, in love and earnestness, declared to them the necessary truths. In all important articles of faith they agreed with us, and when it came to the trial and appropriation of these articles, they have already experienced much, and promised that, by God's grace, they would apply the rest also to practice. If we look to the marks which in renewal must necessarily follow repentance and faith, they are sometimes very deficient. According to their confession, they are nothing but poor penitents, but who as sinners have been pardoned and justified through Christ; and yet it would be more consolatory to us if we could have perceived in them more and plainer marks of a thorough change of heart and conversion.[1]

The labors of Muhlenberg and his associates were not confined to those who came from Lutheran ancestry. It was not an uncommon thing for them to report the baptism of those who had been born and raised as Quakers, or of those whose parents were Reformed.[2] Even the negroes received their careful attention when an opportunity to instruct them was offered.[3] Everywhere their preaching awakened interest, and drew large audiences. "They come," writes Muhlenberg, "from near and from far; in summer they dread no heat; in winter, no rough roads and weather."[4] The results were the same as in the parable of the sower. A most affecting incident is that at Chester (March 15, 1745), where the Germans, "mostly servants," in their joy at hearing once more a sermon and participating in a service, "crowded about me like

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 167.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 33. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 47. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

children or fainting sheep who have no shepherd, and wept."

"In Germany it is regarded a matter of no moment if one, two, or three sermons be heard every Sunday; here many rejoice if they hear a sermon once a year. These people in Chester, in six years, have been unable to hear any German Evangelical preaching."[1]

During the earlier years of his ministry two communions a year were held in each congregation. The week preceding, every one desiring to commune was expected to go to the pastor's house, or to the schoolhouse, and confer with him. If any necessity so advised, the pastor would instruct or advise or reprove the communicant, according to the circumstances. On Saturday evening the preparatory service was held, and the sermon had especial reference to the circumstances which the pastor had learned in his private conferences with his people during the week. Then the communicants passed in line before the altar. When any one who had been guilty of a public offense approached, the pastor arrested the progress for a few moments while public confession of the wrong was made, and admonition to repentance, the sacred promise, the prayers of the congregation for God's forgiveness, and the personal forgiveness of all the members followed. Then came the public confession and absolution.[2] After the service those who had had differences with one another repaired to the parsonage and were reconciled.[3]

While the communion was being administered either a hymn was sung, or the Passion history or the prayers appropriate to the sacrament from John Arndt's devotional book, "The Garden of Paradise," were read.[4]

At funerals the desire of the people to have a regular

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 58.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 183 sq. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*

sermon preached was gladly complied with, as giving an opportunity to reach a large audience that otherwise was inaccessible. Weddings were also preceded by a sermon, but were too apt to end in a carousal. The hymns of the pastors were sometimes not well received by the careless crowd that thronged such scenes, often uninvited; but the dancers were apt to feel the force of the discipline of the church should they afterward desire to partake of the communion.[1]

There were no Sunday-schools in those days; but, when the pastor was available, Sunday afternoon was not unoccupied. The *Kinderlehre*, or "Children's Instruction," was faithfully employed by Brunnholtz, whose infirmity kept him more closely to his parish than Muhlenberg, the younger being instructed in the Small Catechism, and the older and the servants in the "Order of Salvation" and Bible history.[2] Such instruction he found more directly reached the people, and made a more permanent impression, than his sermons.[3]

The great anxiety of the pastors to find proofs of the effects of the Word in the lives of their hearers undoubtedly colors some of their complaints of the prevalent deadness. This is especially the case with Brunnholtz, as he continued his pastoral work amidst distressing physical infirmities. Such statements as that "the people are mostly blind and dead," and without the experience of a change of heart, ought not to be received as historical facts without great discrimination. Even a great prophet erred when under the juniper tree, and in the cave he despaired of the efficacy of the Word (1 Kings xix. 5, 10). Those congregations were neither models of the higher form of Christian earnestness, nor extraordinary examples of indifference to religion. The seed was growing in secret in

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 182. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 125. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 624.

many a heart, where the Lord kept its fruits concealed from the eyes of his too inquisitive servants.

Emigration meanwhile was constantly changing the persons to whom the pastors ministered. The current from Germany was flowing, for those days of inconvenient transport, with astonishing rapidity. In 1749, 12,000 German emigrants landed in Philadelphia. The older settlements were constantly being deserted by the more enterprising of those who, by their thrift, had accumulated something, for the more promising frontier, and their places were taken by fresh arrivals from Germany. Muhlenberg refers to this as very noticeable on his repeated visits to communities beyond his own parish.

There was much ignorance and stupidity among them; but this was by no means the general character of the population. The fifty kinds of hymn-books which Muhlenberg mentions as being brought by them to the services show how devoutly they had clung to their religious books. In many a home the ponderous family Bible was one of the chief articles of furniture. Unlike its gilded successor, it was most faithfully used. Its long introductions and ample notes and indexes gave more apparatus than a "Teacher's Bible" of to-day. But beyond this, it was often replete with doctrinal comments, practical applications of the texts, devout prayers, with perhaps the Augsburg Confession and other theological material. The reading of such literature on Sundays trained at least some of the Lutheran people into an acquaintance with Scripture which would have compared most favorably with that of the ministry in a later period. Many of such books are still treasured as precious heir-looms in the homes of their descendants.

Such people impressed their character upon the very soil they cultivated. "Wherever," says McMaster, "a

German farmer lived, there were industry, order, and thrift. The size of the barns, the height of the fences, the well-kept wheat-fields and orchards, marked off the domain of such farmer from the lands of his shiftless Irish neighbors."[1] "They were," says another American writer, "an industrious, frugal, temperate people, tilling their farms, accustomed to conflict with savage and other enemies on the border, and distinguished for their bold and independent spirit."[2]

Not all entered the country with equal advantages. The poorer classes, unable to pay their passage, and fleeing from oppression and starvation at home, sold themselves for a term of years into slavery. This was not peculiar to the Germans, but comprehended all nationalities. Nor was the lot of a "redemptioner" in all cases a sad one. In Maryland the laws early protected them, limiting the days of work in summer to five and a half, and demanding for them three hours of rest in the middle of the day during the months of greatest heat. Some of the most honored names in American history are those of "redemptioners." Among them are those of Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress during the Revolution, Matthew Thornton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the parents of Major-General Sullivan.[3]

But in Pennsylvania, where this institution began to be common from about 1740, and continued through nearly two decades of the present century, it involved often the greatest hardships. Germans were decoyed from their homes by conscienceless agents, "the Newlanders," as Muhlenberg terms them, who, by fabulous stories of the wealth to be acquired and the easy terms by which passage

[1] "History," vol. iii., p. 556.
[2] Scharf's "History of Maryland," vol. ii., p. 423.
[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 372 sq.

could be secured, enticed unsuspecting emigrants into the signing of papers in an unknown language, not only committing them and their children to slavery, but sometimes separating husband and wife, parents and children. When the yellow-fever prevailed in Chester in 1793, a cargo of such "redemptioners" was sent thither, and a market for nurses opened.[1] A most graphic description of the horrors of this "white slavery," by an organist of the church at Providence, is given in Professor Seidensticker's "History of the German Society of Philadelphia."[2] Muhlenberg opposed it with all his might. His letters to Halle expose at length the imposition practiced, warn all who are in danger of being misled, and excite indignation at the relation of the cruelties with which, in his experience as a pastor, he had become so well acquainted.[3]

[1] McMaster, vol. ii. [2] Pages 22–24.
[3] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., pp. 997–1000; 1047 sqq.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROJECTS OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION.

As the congregations and pastors increased, it became manifest that some form of organization uniting them more closely than by their common dependence on Halle was necessary. The common faith, common dangers, and common wants of the Swedish and the German congregations elevated the first attempts above all the considerations of language. The vacancy in the Swedish congregation in Philadelphia had continued for two years, until in 1743 Rev. Gabriel Naesman succeeded the greatly lamented Dylander. On his arrival he found that the congregations at both Philadelphia and Kingsessing had suffered greatly. Many had been attracted by the preaching of Whitefield; still more had been confused by the persistent efforts of Zinzendorf. The Swedish churches had been as much exposed as the German to the encroachments of Moravianism, especially through a Paul D. Brycelius, who had accompanied Zinzendorf from Europe and been ordained by David Nitzschmann, and who availed himself of the vacancy to draw away as many of the Swedes as possible. Brycelius was destined in the future to undergo two ecclesiastical changes. In 1760 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania received him, on his renunciation of Moravianism; while in 1767 he was ordained an Episcopalian in England, and sent as missionary to Nova Scotia. Besides detaching a great many members for the Moravians, he had been the indirect cause of leading others, tired of the confusion, into

the English Church. Mr. Naesman was not equal to the situation. He was unable to adapt himself to the circumstances. His efforts were well meant, but they suggested the scholastic rather than the pastor. His long and minute regulations he repeatedly read to the people excited no interest and little attention. When his sermons, preached at the second service on Sundays in imperfect English, would no longer command a sufficient audience, he attempted the French, with no better success.

The two prominent laymen and intimate friends, Peter Kock of the Swedish and Henry Schleydorn of the German Church, projected the plan of uniting the congregations using these languages into one body. They believed that if the two elements could be united into a German-Swedish synod, they would be able much more readily to recover from the effects of the Moravian influence, and to protect themselves from the entrance and attacks of undeserving men. They succeeded in having a conference of representatives of both sides held in Gloria Dei Church in May, 1744. Nyberg insisted upon including the Moravians because of their subscription to the Augsburg Confession, which Muhlenberg firmly opposed. Naesman declared that both were incompetent to decide the question. Then when the question of church usages came up, Naesman insisted that the order of the Swedish Church must be binding on the Germans, because the Swedes had come to this country first. This, of course, was impracticable. The Swedish liturgy was too elaborate for the Southern Germans, and the intoning of the collects was esteemed by them as a mark of a Romanizing tendency. Neither the Swedes nor the Germans were prepared to break their connection with the church at home. The German congregations could not be changed into Swedish. The Swedes also feared being outvoted by the Germans.

Mr. Kock was thwarted by his pastor, but not conquered. The scheme of union was so deeply cherished, that he left no effort untried to effect it. To this end, he determined that Mr. Naesman must be removed. Various plans of persuading away failed, until at last the authorities in Sweden accepted Mr. Kock's offer to pay the traveling expenses of his successor. Mr. Naesman was, therefore, greatly surprised when in November, 1749, Rev. Israel Acrelius arrived as provost of the Swedish churches, and brought with him a communication from the archbishop and consistory informing the pastor of Gloria Dei Church to prepare for returning to Sweden in the spring.[1]

Meanwhile there had been a number of important changes. Nyberg had been excluded from the Swedish ministry. Peter Kock had died. A synod had actually been held, and, strangest of all, Naesman had participated in the religious services by which it was inaugurated. The joint labors of Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh, in the spring of 1748, upon a liturgy had probably something to do with its formation. From the very beginning the three congregations that had called Muhlenberg had gone under the name of "the United Congregations." Germantown was added, then Lancaster, then Tulpehocken, then York. At this time, these, with their "filials," or dependent churches or preaching-points, constituted "the United Congregations."[2] Pastor Hartwig, of Rhinebeck, N. Y., had been at Raritan, N. J., aiding in settling the difficulties of those most troubled churches in that vicinity, and had come to Pennsylvania. The dedication of St. Michael's Church, Philadelphia, was to be an occasion of especial importance and to bring together the representative men of the Lutheran Church in America.

[1] For particulars of above conference, see Acrelius, pp. 242–254.

[2] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 122.

The urgency of the congregation at Tulpehocken for the services of Nicholas Kurtz as pastor, rendered his ordination necessary. No better opportunity could be had for proceeding to the formation of a synod. The relation of the Swedes to it was yet problematical. Nevertheless, they did not decline to participate, urged, doubtless, by the presence of the trustee of Gloria Dei Church, Mr. Kock, who had more extensive plans for the new synod than were apparent in the proceedings.

Before the public services, on August 23, 1748 (N. S.), Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and Hartwig met as an examination committee. The questions and answers were afterward transmitted to Halle. The questions were criticised as being too difficult to be answered in such a brief time. The answers were, as a whole, approved as such as would have done credit to candidates in Germany. Among the obligations which he subscribed among the conditions of his ordination is one to teach nothing, either publicly or privately, in his congregations "but what is conformable to the Word of God and the confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." Another pledges that he will "introduce no ceremonies in the public service and administration of the sacraments but those which have been introduced by the college of pastors of the United Congregations, and use no other formula but that which has been indicated to me by the same."

On the next day (Sunday) St. Michael's was consecrated. The procession from Pastor Brunnholtz's house was headed by the Swedish provost, Sandin, followed by the other clergy and the delegates from the congregations. "Come, Holy Spirit, God and Lord," was sung. A letter from the aged Swedish pastor at Wilmington, Tranberg, regretting his absence and congratulating the congregation in English, was then read. The address seems to have been

intended to give particular emphasis to the confessional position of the congregation. The speaker said:

> The foundation of this church was laid with the intention that the Evangelical Lutheran doctrine should be taught therein according to the foundation of the prophets and apostles, and according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books. . . . After this the entire building and its parts, as the pulpit, the baptismal font, and altar, were formally dedicated to the preaching of the saving Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments according to our symbolical books. The Church Council of Philadelphia were required to publicly and orally promise that, with God's assistance, they would endeavor to preserve the church as long as they could against fire, water, and other accidents, for the above-mentioned purpose for their children and their children's children.

Another hymn was sung, and then six prayers were offered, two in Swedish by the Swedish pastors, and four in German by Revs. Brunnholtz, Hartwig, and Handschuh, and Mr. Kock. After another hymn a child was baptized, a sermon was preached by Rev. Handschuh, and then the ministers with a few of the congregation received the Lord's Supper. In the afternoon there was another procession to the church. Pastor Hartwig preached the ordination sermon from Ezekiel xxxiii. 8. The Swedish provost and the four German pastors ordained Mr. Kurtz. The lay delegates stood in a semicircle about the altar during the ceremony of laying on of hands and prayer. The liturgical formula was read by Muhlenberg.[1]

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania began without any formal constitution. The pastors present knew one another as pledged to the same faith, and as those who would make the same demands of others. The constitution was to be developed in the life of the synod before it would be reduced to writing. The minutes, signed by the four German pastors from Pennsylvania and some of the delegates, have been preserved.[2] The Swedish provost and

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 285; new ed., p. 393.

[2] *Ibid.*, new ed., pp. 208–211.

Revs. Hartwig, Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh, and Kurtz were the clerical members. The Swedish laity were represented by Peter Kock. The entire church council of the Philadelphia congregation, four lay delegates from Germantown, three from Providence, three from New Hanover, two from Upper Milford, one from Saccum, three from Tulpehocken, one from Nordkiel, six from Lancaster, and one from Earlingtown were present. The synod consisted of six ministers and twenty-four lay delegates exclusive of those from the Philadelphia church. The congregation at York was represented by a letter, regretting the absence of representatives because of the distance and the short notice which had been received.

After a hymn, the object of the meeting was stated in an address by Muhlenberg. He referred to the attempt made five years before and its failure, and declared that the cause of that failure was the Moravian influence exerted through Nyberg. He dwelt upon the importance of a closer union between the congregations. Every member of the church, he said, had those for whose future he was responsible. The parents must provide not only for themselves, but for their children. "We are here to provide, if possible, for yearly meetings of this kind. The ministers present have not run of themselves, but have been regularly called to the work. We all stand in connection with the fathers in Europe."

The lay delegates were then called upon to give a report concerning the efficiency of the pastors. The condition of the parochial schools was next inquired into, and a summary of the reports put on record. The lay delegates were then invited to give their opinion concerning the recently prepared liturgy. Unanimous satisfaction with the desire of the pastors to use a uniform order was expressed. The only criticism offered was as to the length

of the public service, which, especially in extremely cold weather, was burdensome to the people. The pastors promised to deliberate on the subject before they separated, and to comply with the request.

It was important to put on record a declaration why other professedly Lutheran pastors had not been invited to participate in the organization of the synod. It was explained that they had, without foundation, accused those who had come together in the synod as Pietists; that they were not regularly called pastors; that they were unwilling to adopt a uniform order of service and government; that they were subject to no consistorium, and were not called to account by any authority for the proper exercise of their office.

Muhlenberg admonished all the elders of the great importance of their entire conversion to God in order to properly discharge the duties of their office. It was decided to hold the meetings annually, in Philadelphia and Lancaster alternately. Two elders from each congregation were to be sent, at the expense of the congregation, to the next meeting at Lancaster. The Swedish provost made an address in which he expressed his desire to be a member of the body. This shows that his relation at the meeting was rather that of an advisory than that of a full member. This seems to have been also the position of Hartwig.

With great correctness, Professor Gräbner designates the proceedings of that day, August 26 (N. S.), 1748, as "the most important event in the history of the American Lutheran Church of the eighteenth century."

Although there is no formal constitution, we can without difficulty read the main features of the organization.

It was a body consisting, first, of pastors officially called and commissioned by the authorities in Halle, at the ap-

peal of "the United Congregations," and approved by the church authorities of Hanover, as the Lutheran representatives of the then reigning king of England; and, secondly, of other pastors concerning whose unity in the faith and the regularity of whose call there could be no question on the part of the authorities in Europe. The pastors were all responsible to those in Europe who had commissioned them. They continued to transmit regular reports to these authorities, and were subject to their orders and discipline, as well as dependent upon them, at least in part, for their support. The determination of the ordination of a candidate for the ministry was made by the pastors alone, subject to three conditions, viz., that the applicant be one whom the authorities in Europe would approve, that the examination papers be transmitted and reviewed at Halle, and that a call from a particular congregation be present. The final decision in doctrinal and liturgical questions belonged to the pastors, subject, of course, to advice and approval at Halle.

The lay delegates were the church councils, or some of the elders as their representatives. They gave a report to the synod, when asked, concerning the work of their pastors; they were present and participated with the pastors in making reports concerning the parochial schools; they presented requests to the synod; they were consulted by the pastors concerning liturgical and other questions, but the decision on these subjects was reserved for the pastors, acting under instructions from Halle. There was no vote taken in the common assembly of pastors and laymen. "The recognition of a pastor by the synod was a pledge that he was well prepared for the ministry and a man of worthy character." [1]

There was as yet no president; but Muhlenberg, by virtue of his first call and commission, had a preëminence,

[1] Note to "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 183.

as bearing a special responsibility for all the rest. They assembled during Saturday, spent Sunday in public worship, held the conference with the lay delegates on Monday, adjourning generally by the middle of the afternoon, after which they dined together. After the laymen had finished their duties the pastors attended to such business as especially belonged to them. This was the order for many years.

Seven annual meetings were held, viz.: 1748, Philadelphia; 1749, Lancaster; 1750, Providence; 1751, Philadelphia; 1752, Germantown; 1753, Tulpehocken; 1754, New Hanover. At the second meeting the first item of business was "Pastor Muhlenberg's proposition concerning the necessity of the annual election of an overseer of all the United Congregations." Pastor Brunnholtz was elected, although against the protest of the Philadelphia delegates, who urged their pastor's delicate health and the already too heavy burden which the care of his congregations had imposed upon him. Not only was this office not recognized by the authorities in Halle, who in all their correspondence say not a word concerning it, since it seemed to be an infringement upon the European superintendency of the Pennsylvania churches,[1] but from the very full account of the discussions at the meeting of the synod in 1760, the Halle editors of the "Reports" have omitted the section referring to this office, where it is stated that by a unanimous vote the synod affirmed the necessity of such an office.[2] Brunnholtz's health did not allow him to retain it long, and it then was transferred to Muhlenberg, who exercised it for many years. One or more of the Swedish pastors was generally present, although not at Lancaster in 1749, nor at Providence in 1751.

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., note, p. 271.

2 See MS. in Archives at Mount Airy.

The new synod was struggling hard for existence. Whatever gains it was making were almost completely lost sight of in the new demands which the constantly increasing immigration made upon the pastors. The reinforcements sent them from Halle were entirely insufficient. They were beginning to realize the fact that they could not endure the same exposures and fatigues as during the first years of their ministry in America. Their opponents were active. Whatever errors they may have made in the perhaps too indiscriminate judgment of those whose presence in the synod they at first deemed undesirable, were used against them. Not only was the charge of Pietism freely circulated, but it was said that they were, after all, only secret agents of Zinzendorf, seeking by their synod to reproduce his conferences.[1] Such reports were very effective in prejudicing the people against the synod. New pastors of good education and respectable character from Germany entered the field which Halle could or would not hold. Even Muhlenberg himself recommended the congregation at Reading to petition the authorities in Würtemberg for a pastor.

A most urgent appeal, signed by Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh, was sent to both London and Halle after having been adopted by the synod in 1754. It is one of the most important papers in the Halle "Reports." The entire field is surveyed, the history of German immigration traced, and the religious condition of the immigrants described. The manner in which other denominations and the Swedish Lutherans are aided by foreign help is shown, and a very discouraging contrast is drawn. The condition of each parish is then candidly and at length set forth. Three great dangers they see threat-

[1] MS. of Muhlenberg, September 22d, 1760, in "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania."

ening the inner life of congregations, viz.: the assumption, by the leading men of particular parishes, of the right to dictate, as a compensation for the perhaps greater amount expected of them for the pastor's support; the lawlessness of immigrants who abuse the freedom of the country, want to break through all rules, and revile all good order, the regular ministry, and divine service as papacy itself; the introduction of worthless men into the country as pretended ministers by "the Newlanders," who sell their services from the ship to Lutherans willing to be deceived in this way. The "united pastors," they urge, are almost powerless to resist. The people are, as a rule, poor. In a congregation of three hundred members, scarcely fifteen can be found able to contribute toward the building of churches; and the responsibility for debts incurred must, therefore, as a rule, fall upon the pastors themselves. Many thousands of Lutheran people are scattered throughout North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, etc. No provision is made for the traveling expenses of the pastors, or supplies for their places, if these Lutherans are to be cared for. People come often one and even two hundred miles to hear a sermon and receive the sacrament, and weep bitterly over the destitution, which no one endeavors to remove. They contrast the condition of a pastor in the New with that of one in the Old World. The latter has the assurance of necessary support, of protection in his office, of all needed buildings, of provision for the proper instruction of his people. The former has none of these. Among ten families there is scarcely one or two that contributes according to its promises. The sects diffuse among the people the ideas, to which they lend too ready assent, that the pastors as well as their hearers ought to work at a trade, cut wood, sow and reap during the week, and then preach to them gra-

tuitously on Sunday. They hear such things wherever they go—in papers, in company, on their journeys, and at the taverns. The picture is a very dark one. The pastors feel that they are standing at the base of a vast mountain, up whose steep sides they do not see how it is possible for them to advance; and yet to recede or even to be stationary must be fatal.[1]

Such representations probably had something to do with the impression current for a while at Halle that Muhlenberg was visionary and eccentric, so strange do his statements seem to those incompetent from personal observation to appreciate the urgency of the situation in Pennsylvania. If there was any time when, even for a moment, Muhlenberg entertained the suggestion of transferring the care of the Lutherans of Pennsylvania to the Church of England, it was only at some such time, when he and his associates in the synod were allowed to struggle on under such burdens almost unaided, while union with the Church of England would at once have provided all missionaries sent thither with an appropriation almost sufficient for support, and with far better protection against the prevalent disorder. If the Lutherans in Europe could not meet the demands of the hour, we can pardon the thought, which never became a fixed purpose, that, sooner than have the thousands for whose care he felt himself responsible neglected, some other mode of relief would have to be sought.

Under these circumstances, combined with the deaths of Heintzelmann and Brunnholtz, and the blunders of Handschuh at Lancaster, Germantown, and Philadelphia, there were no synodical sessions after that of 1754, until the interest that seemed dead was revived in 1760 by the arrival of the Swedish provost Von Wrangel, and his at-

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., pp. 662–689.

tempt to establish a German-Swedish synod. The pastors were diligent, each in his own parish, and coöperated cordially as individuals; but we may almost say that the synod died in its infancy, and that an entirely new organization arose in the latter year.

CHAPTER XV.

MUHLENBERG IN NEW YORK.—ACRELIUS AND WRANGEL.

A VERY important interruption of Muhlenberg's work in Pennsylvania was occasioned by his connection with the old Dutch congregation in New York. In August, 1750, he had gone with his father-in-law, Conrad Weiser, up the Hudson, and had been endeavoring to settle difficulties in the congregations of Pastor Hartwig, who had been charged with being a Moravian. Stopping in New York on his return, he had been asked to aid in bringing order out of confusion in the old church there, which had been rent by the conflict between the Dutch and the German elements, and was suffering by the withdrawal of a number of the Germans and the formation of a new German congregation, served then by Rev. J. F. Riess. This was the occasion of the friendly interview with Berkenmeyer previously mentioned.

The result was a most urgent appeal on the part of the congregation for Muhlenberg to become their pastor, with the prospect of extending his labor into that of thoroughly organizing the growing but discouraged Lutheran Church in the State of New York. After a conference between the Pennsylvania pastors, temporary provision was made for his congregations, and it was decided that he should spend several months in New York. His service there was at two periods, viz., from May 19th to the close of August, 1751, and from May 9th to August 3, 1752. His

presence brought unity and new life to the distracted church. He overcame the language difficulty by preaching in all three languages, Dutch in the morning, German in the afternoon, and English in the evening, devoting a large portion of his time to the study of the Dutch language and to obtaining a more thorough acquaintance with the English Bible. The committing to memory of his Dutch sermons consumed for a while three days a week. He took charge also of the Dutch Church at Hackensack. He mingled freely with the more prominent persons in the city, and exchanged visits with the pastors of other denominations. He was occupied with the preparation of liturgical formularies adapted to his peculiar linguistic relations, and had no hesitancy, where it could be done to advantage, to avail himself of material found in the Book of Common Prayer. His journals give many gratifying evidences of the divine blessing on his labors. We give only one example:

> In the afternoon the church was too small, and a large crowd stood at the door and about the windows. I preached in English on Luke xv. on the prodigal son, and we sang from the Lutheran Hymn-book, translated into English, "Jesu, deine tiefe Wunden."

A copy of the hymn-book which he used is before us. It is interesting to have the very words which he "lined out," in the not very smooth translation, for that audience to sing.

> Christ, thy holy wounds and passion,
> Bloody sweat, cross, death, and tomb,
> Be my daily meditation
> Here, as long I live from home:
> When thou seest a sinful thought
> Rise within, to make me naught,
> Show me that my own pollution
> Caused thy bloody execution.[1]

[1] "Psalmodia Germanica," or "The German Psalmody," translated from the High Dutch. New York reprint, 1756, p. 16; first ed., London, 1722–25.

Never in my life have I seen such attentive hearers. God grant that all may not be vain, but that something of his Word may be sown in the hearts and bring forth fruit. The church-officers asked me to preach on next Tuesday, since the two Reformed churches have their services on Sunday, and many of them are anxious to hear what a Lutheran minister preaches.

While he did not succeed in uniting the two New York congregations, he nevertheless had much to show for his two summer vacations. He secured a pastor for the old congregation, in the person of Rev. J. A. Weygand, who had been previously in the Raritan charge, and who continued the regular use of the three languages in public services. But he brought back with him an enlarged view of the field, and a much more thorough acquaintance with the details of church organization, derived from his temporary pastorate of an American Lutheran congregation nearly a hundred years old, and organized upon the basis of the Amsterdam church order. Muhlenberg was, to the close of life, a growing man, availing himself freely of all the opportunities within his reach, and directing every element of his experience to his future work. The field in Pennsylvania, also, was seen in another light when regarded at a distance and when isolated from daily contact with its less important anxieties.

As the summers of 1751 and 1752 were spent in New York City, so those of 1758 and 1759 were spent in the Raritan charge, N. J., where he believed his presence most necessary. His conception of his call to America and of his responsibility as president of the synod did not allow him to regard himself bound so closely to any one parish as to deter him from leaving it for more neglected fields when the necessity was urgent. He states this, with the limitations of his duty, in a letter to the New York congregation, after he had been with them the first time.

My first and lawful call is for Pennsylvania. I cannot run, like other vagabonds, from one place to another, neither can I move to another place, without consent of my superiors and ordinary congregations. . . . My call and my business in America have been these nine years past to gather our poor and scattered Lutherans into congregations, and to introduce lawfully called, ordained, and pious ministers. If I can do the same, by the help of God, in New York, I will not fear or mind any trouble, persecution, or evil or good report. But then, good people must not depend upon my staying here or there, but thank God if they be provided with sound and faithful ministers, and give me liberty to go from one place to another, and see how far, by the assistance of God, I may add my mite to the edification of our Lutheran Church in America.[1]

Meanwhile a most important adviser and assistant was to be brought Muhlenberg in another of the Swedish pastors. The interest in the Swedish churches in America, which had declined since the death of Bishop Svedberg, had been revived by "the pious archbishop, Dr. Jacob Benzelius."[2] Provost Sandin, who assisted in the organization of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, was one of its fruits. But his participation in those services was one of his last acts. Before August, 1748, had passed, he was at rest. Mr. Parlin, sent, through Kock's importunity, to displace Naesman, although appointed in May, 1749, was delayed in reaching his charge at Wicaco until July, 1750. Six years later, on the departure of Acrelius, he became provost, and died in 1757.

Israel Acrelius, pastor at Wilmington, Del., and provost of the Swedish churches, arrived in November, 1749. His period of seven years was marked by much activity. He coöperated cordially with the German pastors, and attended a number of the sessions of the synod. He provided for a meeting of the Swedish ministers three times a year, once in each parish, beginning with the Lord's Supper on Sunday, and occupied on succeeding days with

[1] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 200 sq.
[2] Acrelius, p. 336.

consultations upon official duties, one or more of the German pastors being present at least once a year. He read, at the meeting of the synod at New Hanover in 1754, a Latin dissertation on "The Origin and Progress of the German Evangelical Congregations in Pennsylvania," [1] which was afterward circulated in Europe. This paper reflects the prevalent discouragement:

It is yet a doubtful matter whether our German Evangelical Church will stand or fall; and it is improbable, if it were to fall, whether it could be revived. The means to build churches, support ministers, build and sustain schools are altogether inadequate for needy immigrants and a people scarcely recovered from long servitude. What wonder if our weak powers are altogether incommensurable with our godly desires! [2]

The list of congregations, which he gives in their Latin form, will doubtless interest succeeding pastors:

Parochia Philadelphiensis, Francofurtana, Germanopolitana, Neshamensis, Dublinensis superior, Tohiconensis, illaque ad furcas fluvii de la Ware, nec non alia quæcunque prope Trajectum ad idem flumen, vulgo Roses-Ferry, Saccumensis porro Milfordensis, Heidelbergensis juxta montes subcæruleos Weissenburgensis, Jordanensis, Macunshyensis, novæ Goshehoppensis, veteris Goshehoppensis, et quæ in campo Indianorum sita est, vulgo Indian-Field: Schippackensis quoque, novæ Providentiæ, Pikespolitana, magnæ Vallis, Molotoniana seu Olyensis, nova Hannoverensis, Colebrookdahlensis, Vincentii Alsatiæ, Readingensis, Heidelbergensis, Kilonii septentrionalis, Tulpehookensis, Lancastrensis, Carlopolitana, omnes et singulæ intra limites Pensylvaniæ. His adnumerantur Ecclesia Fredericopolitana in Terra Mariæ, vulgo Maryland: Cohenzyensis denique Rachewayensis, Leslyensis, Fosserbergensis, Hevinksachensis in nova Cæsarea, novi Eboracensis, aliæque.[3]

Acrelius' chief distinction is his very complete "History of New Sweden," from which most of our knowledge of the history of the Swedish churches is derived. Broken down by fevers, which he ascribed to the climate, and dis-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 312. The paper is published in "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. xx., pp. 51 sqq.

[2] "Acta Historica-Ecclesiastica," vol. xx., p. 57.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

couraged by his inability to solve the language question in his churches, he returned to Sweden in 1756, and died in 1800. His estimate of Muhlenberg should be ever remembered:

> Every right-minded person in the place must acknowledge that Mr. Muhlenberg is a pure Evangelical teacher and a chosen instrument of God, who with wisdom, liberality, and zeal has gathered and built up the church of Christ in a wild land.[1]

With Acrelius, Eric Unander had come, who was pastor from 1749 to 1756 at Racoon and from 1756 to 1760 at Wilmington. Lidenius was his successor in the former place (1756–63), and Borell in the latter (1760–68).

But, however cordial Muhlenberg's relations with predecessors, with Charles Magnus Wrangel, the provost of the Swedish churches from 1759 to 1768, there came a man after his own heart, and with whom he seems to have cultivated the closest intimacy of his life. He was a descendant of the famous general of that name,[2] and was still a young man during his stay in America. After completing his course at Westeräs and Upsala, he had studied in Göttingen, where he had received in 1757 the degree of doctor of divinity. While serving as private chaplain to the king, he was called to the provostship. On August 24, 1760, he went to Muhlenberg's home at The Trappe—a day's journey then—to invite him to attend the approaching meeting of the Swedish pastors. "I was greatly moved," says Muhlenberg, "by his mild and humble manners, and edified by his weighty conversation relative to the kingdom of God."

At the Swedish conference, which Muhlenberg attended (September 14th), this impression was deepened by the sermon with which, and the Lord's Supper, the conference

1 "History," p. 249.

2 Dr. Reynolds' Appendix to Acrelius' "History," p. 346.

was opened. The instructions from Sweden, which were read, explicitly directed the Swedish pastors to live in harmony with the German Lutheran pastors and attend their annual meetings. It is said that until his departure Wrangel never missed a meeting of the synod. He participated in the discussions and in the examination and ordination of candidates, acted as arbitrator in difficult cases, and with Muhlenberg prepared the congregational constitution for the Philadelphia Church, which has had a most important influence upon subsequent congregational organization. When, by his advice, Muhlenberg moved to Philadelphia in 1761, to bring the church there into better order than it had previously enjoyed, their visits were frequent, and sometimes, while they talked over their common interests, so protracted, that the visitor was compelled to tarry with his friend over night. When the Barren Hill Church was oppressed by a most distressing debt, Wrangel assumed the responsibility of one third of it, and shared all the perils and anxieties of his friend. Wrangel rescued the Germantown congregation from the difficulties in which it had been involved during Handschuh's pastorate.

How well he administered the affairs of the Swedish congregations, then numbering about three thousand members,[1] Muhlenberg himself may tell. At the Swedish conference in 1761, in a discussion on the language question, Muhlenberg described the gloomy outlook for the Swedish churches only a few years previously, when every effort was put forth by the Church of England to attract its members "and thus to make an end to the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country." Then, addressing the provost, he said:

[1] Nyberg, p. 149.

Far be it from me to flatter you, as the world is wont to do, or to praise you without cause. But with a good conscience and before God I can testify to this, that under your care the Swedish churches are waking up, and flourish and give assurance of a bright future, if the good work is only continued. July 26th, 29th, and 30th I was at Kingsess, Caliconhook, Tenacum, Amasland, and August 2d at Wicaco. In all these churches I was an eye-witness of all the great changes which the merciful God has wrought among our Swedish brethren and their English relations by means of your most faithful services. In Kingsess I noticed with astonishment how from all sides, not only the Swedes, but also the English and Germans, came together in large crowds, how attentive they were, and how eager to hear the Word of God. . . . Trustworthy and venerable Swedes said to me, that, owing to the indefatigable labors of his Reverence the provost in visiting every family, and his condescending instruction of the youth in Swedish and English, more than twenty adult persons had already received baptism, who before had been entirely ignorant and spiritually dead; that others who for years had not approached the Lord's Table now evinced a hunger and thirst for the body and blood of the Lord; that a number of adults who had never been confirmed were carefully instructed by the provost and had now become active members of the church; that all those Swedes who had connected themselves with the High Church at Chester had returned to the church of their fathers; and that even a number of influential English residents had declared their readiness to join the Lutheran congregation in case a church could be built, and there would also be English services in addition to the Swedish.[1]

[1] Dr. Nicum in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 274 sq.

CHAPTER XVI.

SYNODICAL ORGANIZATION COMPLETED.

WRANGEL'S first visit to Muhlenberg had an object beyond that of inviting the latter to the Swedish conference. It was to accomplish, if possible, the resuscitation of the synod that for five years had been practically dead. Possibly the provost's purpose may not have been more than to meet his German brethren. If so, the result was more than he intended. Immediately after the adjournment of the Swedish conference, Muhlenberg sent out, as the Halle "Reports" say, "a circular"; but this meant also a long letter, as several of them lie before us.[1] The following was sent to Pastor Gerock, of Lancaster:

REV. AND DEAR BROTHER: I take the liberty to announce that (D. V.) on October 19th and 20th next, viz., on the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, the Holy Supper will be administered, and on the following Monday a fraternal pastoral conference will be held here in New Providence. The reasons for it are unnecessary to state at length to any regularly called minister who has at heart the welfare of our poor *ecclesia plantanda* in the American wilderness; much less is it necessary to present the motive, since letters received from you several years ago make the strongest appeal for such a fraternal meeting, and I have not forgotten them. The manner of conducting the conference will be determined by those present according to the mildness and humility which they have learned in following Christ, and the gifts of the one Spirit given them, as far as each one is willing to apply them to the good of the whole. All ambitious rivalry will be far distant, and he who will humble himself as a child (Matt. xviii. 4) will be the greatest. The advantages are manifold, and are best known to those who have experience both in Europe and in this country. Although in this country we are mostly dependent upon the *vox populi*, and are at a great

[1] MS. in "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania."

distance from our European mother-church, and are contending against many sorrows and temptations, and have many *pia desideria*, nevertheless we hope that we poor preachers may have such freedom in our congregations as to be able, now and then, to meet, to tell to one another our troubles, to partake of the Lord's Supper together, to decide on cases of conscience, to edify one another with accounts concerning the progress of the kingdom of God, and to afford mutual encouragement under difficult official burdens. The congregations can have less objection to this, since they are not asked to send delegates, but we are to hold only a pastoral conference, to which, however, every well-disposed member is at liberty to come, and to be a spectator and listener during our proceedings, and is invited also to partake of our humble hospitality. The members whom we expect to attend this meeting, and some of whom have advised the meeting, are the following. [Here followed the names of Wrangel, Borell, Gerock, Weygand, Handschuh, and Hausile.] These pastors have indicated their approval of the meeting, and, if nothing prevent, expect to be present. Satan and his allies have tried and will continue to try to prevent such fraternal union, because united power is stronger than their king, and is harmful to him. But when a stronger is within us, there will be no danger. In case you decide to come, my humble request is that you select a text for the chief sermon on the twentieth Sunday after Trinity, suitable to admonish us preachers of our pastoral duties, but so that the people may also have a lesson. Because you do not understand our present church constitution, I have sent a few lines to your church council. But I leave it to your mature judgment whether to hand the letter to them or withhold it.

I remain, etc.,

H. MUHLENBERG.

NEW PROVIDENCE,
24th September, 1760.

The proceedings, which we have at considerable length,[1] show no trace of a synodical organization. It was a convention to deliberate concerning a future plan of procedure. The eight topics of discussion were: "1. Whether it be necessary and useful to continue an annual convention of the ministers and elders in the United German Congregations? 2. What are the impediments to such fraternal convention and union? 3. At what place should the annual conventions be held? 4. What is the best

[1] In "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania." Much is omitted or suppressed in the Halle "Reports," old ed., pp. 854–862; reprinted in Gräbner, p. 371 sq.

method to hold *Kinderlehre?* 5. What is the most effective mode of preaching? 6. What practices are to be observed in connection with the Lord's Supper? 7. Whether pastors should be present or absent at wedding festivities? 8. Whether a president should be elected annually and such provision should be made that he should make a visitation in all the United Congregations, and should attend the meeting of the Swedish Synod as a delegate?" The last item, which is suppressed in the Halle "Reports," Muhlenberg states "was answered by all with aye," i.e., unanimously carried. Twelve pastors and catechists were present, not all the names being published, since one, at least, came uninvited. Laymen were present from Philadelphia, New York, and Lancaster. Brizelius was recognized as a Lutheran pastor after he had signed a document repudiating the Moravians, among whom he had previously labored. A wider platform than that of Halle is noticeable, scarcely half of the ministers having been trained there, and Gerock, whose antagonism to that tendency had been most pronounced, being one of the most prominent members of the conference. The movement in 1760 is in all respects more comprehensive and better adapted to the American surroundings than that of 1748. The former may be regarded as the permanent and the latter only as the temporary foundation of the present Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

The next year (1761) the synod is known by the title of "The Annual Preachers' Assembly of the United Swedish and German Ministerium."[1] From 1762 the presence of the lay delegates from most of the charges shows the growing interest of the congregations. In 1763 the synod adopted the proposal of the president to ask of the pastors annual reports of baptisms, confirmations, and deaths.[2]

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 865. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 1125.

Thus the Synodical Constitution gradually grew. The date of its first being committed to writing and formally adopted is not at hand. It was transcribed into the minute-book begun in 1781, after having been in force years before.

The main features of this first Lutheran Synodical Constitution in America are most important, as it forms the basis of so many later synodical organizations. The name is "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America."[1] The confessional obligation is:

> Every minister professes that he holds the Word of God and our symbolical books in doctrine and life. [vi. 2.] In complaints brought against ministers, the subject of investigation must refer to: 1. Positive errors opposed to the plain teachings of the Holy Scriptures and our symbolical books. [v. 22.]

In reference to important cases of conscience and points of doctrine, only ordained ministers have the right to vote (iv. 2). Ministers licensed but not ordained were allowed to perform pastoral acts only in congregations specified in their license (v. 29). The president "is to be respected and honored as having the oversight, both during the meetings of the synod and at other times" (ii. 1). Only "the fittest and most learned" are eligible to the office of secretary (iii. 2). The pastors are pledged not to declare themselves independent of the synod as long as they served congregations in North America (iv. 6, 2). The lay delegates are heard in the beginning of the synodical sessions, and then dismissed to their homes (v. 14 sq.). After they are dismissed the ministers proceed to the consideration of congregational affairs and questions of conscience, committees of the older pastors being appointed to recommend action (v. 21). This finished, they confer

[1] This was afterward changed to "The German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States." In 1882 "German" was erased, thus going back to the Muhlenberg Constitution.

concerning the blessings and the difficulties attending their labors, report concerning baptisms, confirmations, funerals, and communicants, and listen to the reading of the diaries of the licensed candidates (v. 25). Ordination at special conferences was not permissible, unless so ordered in a given case by the synod (v. 31). Every pastor pledges himself to endeavor to introduce into his congregations constitutions corresponding as nearly as possible with those now in use, and harmonizing with that of the ministerium (vi. 1). Every minister is required to use the liturgy introduced (vi. 3), and gives a written promise to that effect (iv. 6, 2). Every one absenting himself for three years without excuse shall be expelled (v. 4). The other items are chiefly composed of details for the carrying out of these provisions.[1]

The preparation of a congregational constitution for St. Michael's Church in 1762, by Muhlenberg, with the advice and coöperation of Dr. Wrangel, was one of the most important works of his life. Fully aware of the fact that it would become the model of similar constitutions throughout the country, these two great men gave to it months of most careful and mature thought and deliberation. "If in his whole life," says Dr. Mann, "Muhlenberg had done nothing else of a remarkable character, the framing and introduction of this constitution in the Philadelphia congregation would suffice to crown his head with lasting honor."[2]

It was presented to the congregation after most earnest prayer and admonition, as though it were one of the more important acts in the lives of those present. Such it was, since this constitution continues to live and exert

[1] The Constitution is translated and published in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. ix., pp. 255–269.

[2] "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 370.

its influence far and wide throughout the Lutheran Church in all parts of America.

It was carried by the ministers throughout the wide limits of Pennsylvania and adjacent States. It was inherited by new synods formed out of the Pennsylvania Ministerium. It was carefully studied, and its main features adopted by the preparer of the Formula of Government and Discipline of the Synods of West Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and then became that of the General Synod. The great body of the congregations in this country, outside of the bounds of recent German synods in the west, are organized on this plan.[1]

Like the Synodical Constitution, it had grown for years, in an unwritten form, before it reached that which was finally adopted. The offices of elder and *vorsteher* existed in the Philadelphia congregation from the very beginning. We can trace them at any rate to 1734, and Weissiger's mission to England and Germany.[2] Dr. Mann suggests that Zinzendorf's brief pastorate had some influence on the subsequent organization.[3] Muhlenberg's papers were laid before the elders and *vorstcher* of the congregation in Gloria Dei Church, as before seen. Brunnholtz, during his pastorate, developed the organization further by appointing from the pulpit twelve men as elders, and then, in connection with the elders appointed, electing four deacons. This arrangement was destined to cause trouble after Brunnholtz's death, when the congregation justly complained that it was without representation in the council except through the pastor's appointment. Muhlenberg, however, in the constitution for The Trappe congregation of 1750, provided for the election of the church council by the whole congregation. It was to remedy the confusion in the Philadelphia church that the preparation of

[1] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "The Organization of the Congregation in the Early Lutheran Churches in America," p. 39.

[2] See "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., pp. 52, 54.

[3] "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 353.

the new constitution was undertaken. It has not only the benefits of Wrangel's thorough familiarity with the Swedish Church organization, but also that of the experience which Muhlenberg had gained by his brief pastorate of the old and well-organized Dutch Church in New York. A study of this constitution is necessary for all who would understand the church government within at least three of the four general bodies in the Lutheran Church in America.

The pastors are required to preach according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, not only publicly but "briefly," and on the church festivals as well as on Sundays. The week-day services for edification which Wrangel had instituted are indorsed by the provision that the pastors should be allowed during the week to hold meetings for edification and admonition. This points clearly to a provision somewhat different from that which Boltzius employed in his daily services in Georgia. The sacraments are to be administered to those who, at least according to the outward signs, seem qualified. The pastors are authorized, according to God's Word, to forbid the communion to those guilty of gross sin. They are not to refuse to visit the sick, as soon as they are informed and called for. The instruction of the children, both publicly and privately, is made an important part of their duty. They are also to have the supervision of the schools and of the church library. They are to preside at or attend all the meetings of the congregations. The meetings of synod, called "the annual general church assembly," or "convention of regular ministers," they are required to attend, unless their absence be justified by the most urgent necessities, and they are also required to aid in supplying vacant "United Congregations." No minister or student, not examined, or regularly ordained and called "according to our evangelical church government," is permitted to fill

the pulpit; but the pastors are permitted to allow "regularly called united pastors on a visit to preach for them, for the encouragement of the congregation." Pastors must be chosen on nomination of the church council, after a trial sermon, and by a concurrent vote of two thirds of the council and two thirds of the congregation; an exception, however, is made if there be a difficulty to find a pastor in America, where the power of the congregation may be transferred, under certain limitations, to a consistorium or ministerium of the Lutheran Church in Europe. The pastors are required to perform their ministerial acts according to the liturgy already introduced, "until the United Ministerium and the congregations regard it necessary and profitable to provide a better one."

The perpetual right of the congregation to elect its officers is established. The church council is made to consist of the fourteen trustees, six elders, and six deacons (*vorsteher*), the two pastors being included in the trustees. The trustees were to be chosen for life, or until they should prove themselves incompetent, or should resign. In 1791 this provision was changed so as to make the church council consist only of the pastor, the elders, and the deacons. The first constitution provided that all trustees, elders, and deacons in office at the time when it was prepared should be continued—the trustees as above, and the rest until their successors should be elected for a term of three years. The church council, on the day before each election, nominated three times as many candidates as there were vacancies to fill, and the election was then made from these candidates by the congregation. In case one elected declined, he was expected to pay "a considerable donation" into the treasury. Decisions in all important matters must be made by two thirds of the church council and confirmed by two thirds of the congregation.

"The duties of the ruling elders are, among others," the setting of a good example; the maintenance, in connection with the pastors, of pure doctrine and sound discipline; the payment of congregational debts, both principal and interest; providing for the support of the pastors; superintending the keeping of accounts and their submission to the trustees for audit; attending the school examinations, and selecting one of their number as a delegate to synod. "The duties of the *vorsteher* [deacons] are, among others," the setting of a good example; assistance at public and special services, at the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in the visitation of the sick; gathering of the offerings and paying them to the elders; maintaining good order at public worship; collecting pew rents; etc. No complaints against pastors or other officers were to be entertained unless sustained by two or three credible witnesses.

The rights of members were to be conceded only to those who were baptized; who received the Lord's Supper; who lived a Christian life; who were not engaged in any disreputable occupation; who contributed according to ability to the support of the church, "be it little or much, though it were only a cup of cold water"; and who allowed themselves "to be corrected in brotherly love" when they do wrong.[1]

This constitution is a lineal descendant of that of the Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, through probably four sources: 1. Through the constitution of St. Mary's Savoy Church, London, which is a revision of that of Amsterdam. 2. Through the constitution of the Georgia congregations, which depends upon that of Savoy. 3. Through the con-

[1] Constitution is printed in "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., pp. 962–971; condensed translation in Dr. Schmucker's "Organization of the Congregation," etc.; also, "Lutheran Church Review" for July, 1887.

stitution of the Swedish churches in Pennsylvania and Delaware, organized in the seventeenth century by Fabritius after the model of the Dutch church in New York which he had served. 4. Through Muhlenberg's pastorate in the Dutch Church in New York in 1751 and 1752.

Great stress is laid in the synodical as well as the congregational constitution upon the uniform use of a liturgy. This was one of the principal topics which occupied the attention of the first meeting of the synod in 1748. The liturgy then adopted, which all were pledged to use in their congregations, was not published until in the recent edition of the Halle "Reports,"[1] but was current among the pastors in manuscript. The history of this liturgy has been traced by the most learned of Lutheran liturgiologists in America, the late Dr. B. M. Schmucker.[2] In a paper presented before the synod in 1754 and then sent to Halle, to which reference has been made before, Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, and Handschuh state concerning it that they had made the liturgy of the Savoy Church, London, its basis, "because we had no other at hand."[3] It became, however, a matter of surprise to this most competent of liturgical critics to find that the Pennsylvania liturgy shows little dependence upon the Savoy liturgy, but very closely follows a family of Saxon and North German liturgies. With these liturgies, which vary little from one another, Muhlenberg's life in Germany had made him familiar. They are the Lüneburg order of 1643, used at his home at Eimbeck; the Calenberg of 1569, used at Göttingen during his student days; the Brandenburg-Magde-

[1] Pages 211 sqq. The Order of Morning Service is translated and printed from Goering's MSS. by Dr. C. A. Hay, in his "Memoir of Goering, Lochman, and Kurtz," pp. 43 sqq.

[2] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. i., pp. 16–27, 161–172.

[3] Cf. supplementary statement in note from Muhlenberg's MS., "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., p. 449.

burg of 1739, used at Halle while he resided there; and the Saxon of 1712, which he used when pastor at Grosshennersdorf and which Zinzendorf also had at hand during his career as Lutheran pastor and superintendent in Philadelphia. As only the Savoy liturgy was at hand, the order of the various parts adopted was reproduced from memory. Of the five variations which Dr. Schmucker has traced, there is only one which is of any importance. A hymn of invocation takes the place of the introit, and the confession of sin precedes the kyrie. A similar confession of sin occurs in the Calenberg and Saxon orders after the sermon. Possibly the order of the Royal Chapel in London, where Ziegenhagen was pastor, and in use also in Georgia, where a German translation of the Book of Common Prayer was adopted, suggested the change of place. The confessional prayer is that found in the Calenberg liturgy.

This order was undoubtedly gradually formed during the preceding years of the activity of the pastors before its final shape as prepared at Providence (April 27–29, 1748) and presented to the synod in 1748. We know that in the preceding year almost the same form was given to Schaum when catechist at York.[1] "We had heretofore used a brief formula, but had nothing fixed and agreed upon in all points, since we were awaiting the arrival of more laborers, and to become better acquainted with the circumstances of the country."

Concerning this order, the liturgical scholar before quoted says:

> The service reproduced in Pennsylvania is the old, well-defined, conservative service of the Saxon and North German liturgies. It is indeed the pure biblical parts of the service of the Western Church for a thousand years

[1] "Evangelical Review," vol. vii., p. 544; "Lutheran Diet" (1877), p. 133.

before the Reformation, with the modifications given it by the Saxon Reformers. It is the service of widest acceptation in the Lutheran Church of middle and north Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. . . . It is very fortunate for the Lutheran Church in America that the fathers gave them at the beginning so pure and beautiful an Order of Service.[1]

Referring to the revision of this service as finally published in 1786, the same writer says:

These alterations in the Morning Service are all of a piece. Every one of them is an injury to the pure Lutheran type of the old service. The chaste liturgical taste of the fathers has become vitiated; the accord of spirit with the church of the Reformation is dying out gradually. The service of the church is sinking slowly toward the immeasurable depths into which it afterward fell. The Order of Service of 1748 is beyond comparison the noblest and purest Lutheran service which the church in America prepared or possessed until the publication of the Church Book.[2]

We append a translation of this service, kindly furnished by Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, who had prepared it for a portion of the English translation of the "Hallesche Nachrichten" yet to be published.

CHURCH AGENDA (LITURGY) OF 1748.

[The Agenda of 1748 was never printed; but each pastor provided himself with a written copy for his own use. Two of these copies came into the hands of the late Rev. Dr. J. W. RICHARDS of Reading, who himself was a descendant of the patriarch Muhlenberg. The oldest and most complete copy came down from the hands of Pastor JACOB VAN BUSKERK, and is from the year 1763. It has the chapters and paragraphs numbered, while the ritual and liturgical appointments are complete. The other copy is from the hand of Pastor PETER MUHLENBERG, who was in Dunmore County, Va., at the time when this copy was written, that is, in 1769. Here the chapters and paragraphs are not numbered. The directions for the several divisions are not given in full; but the liturgical material is complete.

What we here furnish in print is taken from the copy of Pastor Van Buskerk, and varies from it only in certain unimportant parts, that have been

[1] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. i., p. 171 sq.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 22.

somewhat confused, the correction being supplied from the copy of Peter Muhlenberg. Notice of these variations is always given.

All the contents of the Liturgy are given, in regular order; yet only the more important parts are printed in full.]

CHAPTER I.

THE MANNER IN WHICH PUBLIC WORSHIP SHALL BE CONDUCTED IN ALL OUR CONGREGATIONS.

§ 1.

When the pastor enters the church the worship shall begin with the singing of the hymn "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist," either entire, or several verses of it; or a verse of the hymn "Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott."

§ 2.

After the singing of the hymn, or the verse, the pastor goes to the altar, turns his face to the congregation, and says:

Beloved in the Lord!

Thus saith the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy: I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones: I will not always chide, neither will I keep anger forever: only acknowledge thine iniquity, that thou hast transgressed against the Lord thy God.

If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.

Accompany me therefore in making confession of sins, saying:

I, a poor sinner, confess unto God, my heavenly Father, that I have grievously and in various ways sinned against him; not only by outward and gross sins, but much more by inward blindness of heart, unbelief, doubt, despondency, impatience, pride, selfishness, carnal lusts, avarice, envy, hatred, and malice, and by other sinful passions which are naked and open in the sight of my Lord and God, but which I, alas! cannot so fully understand. But I do sincerely repent, in deep sorrow, for these my sins; and with my whole heart I cry for mercy from the Lord, through his dear Son Jesus Christ, being resolved, with the help of the Holy Ghost, to amend my sinful life. Amen.

Lord God the Father in heaven, have mercy upon us. Lord God the Son, Redeemer of the world, have mercy upon us. Lord God the Holy Ghost, have mercy upon us and grant us Thy peace. Amen.

§ 3.

After the confession the hymn "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr" shall be sung.

§ 4.

During the singing of the last verse the pastor goes to the altar, turns his face to the congregation, and says:

The Lord be with you.

The congregation responds:

And with thy spirit.

The pastor says:

Let us pray.

Then he prays in the words of the collect which is appointed for the Sunday or the festival, in the Marburg Hymn-book. After the collect the lesson from the epistle shall be read, being introduced with the following words:

Let us devoutly listen to the reading of the lesson for this day, from the, etc.

§ 5.

Then shall be sung the principal hymn, selected by the pastor, from the hymns in the Marburg Hymn-book—one familiar to the whole congregation. The whole hymn, or only a part of it, shall be sung, as circumstances may decide.

§ 6.

After the singing of the principal hymn the gospel lesson shall be read, being introduced with the same words as before the epistle. After the gospel the pastor repeats devoutly the creed, in verse, "Wir glauben all." If children are present to be baptized, the gospel and the creed are omitted.

§ 7.

Before the sermon the hymn "Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier," or "Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend," is sung, either entire or in part.

§ 8.

Ordinarily, the sermon shall be limited to three quarters of an hour, or, at the utmost, to one hour. If the pastor is moved to have an exordium or a series of supplications before he begins the Lord's Prayer, he is at liberty to do so. After the Lord's Prayer, as usual, [the gospel is read?] during which reading the congregation shall stand. The sermon being concluded, nothing else shall be read than the appointed church-prayer here following, or the litany instead of it, by way of change; and nothing but necessity shall occasion its omission. . . .

After the general prayer petitions for the sick shall follow, in case request has been made to that effect; then shall follow the Lord's Prayer, and then whatever proclamation and notices may be required. When all is done, the pastor closes with the votum:

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds, through Christ Jesus, unto eternal life. Amen.

§ 9.

[This paragraph is taken from the copy of Peter Muhlenberg.]

Then a hymn shall be sung. After the sermon and the closing hymn the pastor goes to the altar and says:

The Lord be with you.

Cong. Resp. And with thy spirit.

Pastor. Let us pray.

Hold us up, O Lord, Lord our God, that we may live; and let our hope never make us ashamed. Help us by thy might, that we may wax strong; and so shall we ever delight ourselves in thy statutes, through Jesus Christ thy dear Son, our Lord. Amen.

After the sermon in the afternoon shall be sung the hymn "Ach, bleib bei uns, Herr Jesu Christ." Then shall follow

The Benediction.

The Lord bless thee and keep thee, and give thee peace, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then a verse shall be sung at the close.

CHAPTER II.

OF BAPTISM AND WHAT IS TO BE OBSERVED AT ITS ADMINISTRATION.

[This agrees, nearly word for word, with the printed Liturgy of 1786.]

CHAPTER III.

OF PROCLAIMING THE BANS.

CHAPTER IV.

OF CONFESSION AND THE HOLY COMMUNION.

§ 1.

Ordinarily, whenever circumstances admit of it, the Supper of the Lord shall be administered on Christmas, on Easter, on Pentecost. It may also be administered at other times, as the necessities of the congregation may demand.

§ 2.

The pastor shall give notice from the pulpit of the administration of the Lord's Supper, one week or two weeks before the time of its celebration. To this notice he shall add a short exhortation, and at the same time he shall inform the people as to the day when they shall report themselves to him and have their names recorded.

§ 3.

The pastor shall keep a register of the communicants, which is to continue in the care of the congregation.

§ 4.

In case the pastor should know that, among those who call upon him to report their names for the Holy Communion, there is one or more who are living in strife, or occasioning public scandal, and his own influence should

not be sufficient to remedy the evil, he may call the vestry of the congregation together, and direct such offenders to appear before them, with their plea and answer.

§ 5.

On the day before the administration of the Lord's Supper, and at the hour appointed by the pastor, the communicants shall all assemble in the church, when the following order shall be observed:

1. A penitential hymn, or a hymn suited to the object of the meeting, shall be sung.

2. After the hymn the pastor, speaking from the pulpit, exhorts the people to repentance; and in the application makes use of what he may have observed and learned about their spiritual state at the time when they reported their names.

3. After the Lord's Prayer the pastor reads aloud the names of the communicants that have been reported to him.

4. After the reading of the names a verse is sung, and the pastor goes before the altar and receives and writes the names of those persons who, for satisfactory reasons, could not report themselves before.

5. Then the pastor calls upon the male communicants first, to come before him, and addresses to them the following questions:

I now ask you, in the presence of the omniscient God, and upon the testimony of your own conscience:

1, 2. [The first two questions have been retained unchanged in all subsequent editions of the Pennsylvania Liturgy.]

3. I ask you: Whether you are fully resolved, with the help of God, to yield yourselves entirely to the gracious direction of the Holy Spirit, by his word; in order that by the power, the help, and the grace of the same, sin may be subdued in you, the old man with his evil deeds and corrupt affections be weakened and overcome by daily sorrow and repentance, and that you may win a complete victory over the world and all its allurements?

If this be your serious purpose, confess it and answer, Yes.

4. Finally, I ask you: Whether any one of you yet has, in his heart, any complaint against another?

6. After these questions are answered then the pastor and all of them together kneel down, when one of the communicants leads in repeating the confession of sin aloud, the pastor himself adding a short ejaculation thereto.

[The copy of Van Buskerk has no form of confession for this act; but the Muhlenberg copy supplies the following.]

I, a poor sinner, confess unto God, my heavenly Father, that I have grievously and in various ways sinned against him, not only by outward, etc.; . . . with the help of the Holy Ghost to amend my sinful life. Amen. [The same as under § 2.]

7. The pastor pronounces the absolution in the following words:

Upon this confession of sin which you have now made, I, a minister of my Lord Jesus Christ, hereby declare, to all them who are truly penitent and

heartily believe in Jesus Christ, and are sincerely resolved, in heart, to amend their lives and daily to grow in grace, to them I declare the forgiveness of all their sins; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

But, on the other hand, I declare to all who are impenitent, to the hypocritical as well as the openly ungodly, and I testify, by the Word of God, and in the name of Jesus, that so long as they continue in their impenitent state, loving sin and hating righteousness, God will not forgive their sins, but retains their sins against them, and will assuredly punish and condemn them for their iniquities, in the end, except they turn to him, now, in this day of grace; except they sincerely forsake all their evil ways, and come to Christ in true repentance and faith; which we heartily pray they may do. Amen.

Then the service shall close with the singing of a verse, and the pastor pronouncing the benediction.

[Here a leaf is missing from the Van Buskerk copy, that contained all of the Retentio, after the words "openly ungodly," and the beginning of the order for the Holy Communion. The missing portions are supplied from the Muhlenberg copy. The Van Buskerk copy, which is defective in Sections 6 and 7, begins again in Section 8.]

THE HOLY COMMUNION.

The minister goes before the altar, places the bread and the wine in order, then turns to the congregation and says:

Minister. The Lord be with you,
Congregation. And with thy spirit.
Minister. Let us lift up our hearts,
Congregation. We lift them up unto the Lord.
Minister. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth.
Congregation. The whole world is full of his glory.

§ 8.

Before the communion the pastor addresses the communicants in the exhortation here following.

Beloved in the Lord!

[Here follows Luther's Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, and his exhortation to the sacrament, exactly as it occurs in his "Deutsche Messe" (German Communion) of 1526.]

§ 9.

The pastor turns his face to the bread and wine, and repeats the Lord's Prayer and the words of institution.

Let us pray: Our Father, etc.
Our Lord Jesus Christ in the night . . . in remembrance of me.

§ 10.

Then the pastor turns to the congregation and says:

Now let all those who are found to be prepared, by the experience of sincere repentance and faith, approach, in the name of the Lord, and receive the Holy Supper.

§ 11.

In giving the bread the pastor shall say these words:

Take and eat: this is the true[1] body of your Lord Jesus Christ, given unto death for you; may this strengthen you in the true faith unto everlasting life. Amen.

In giving the cup:

Take and drink; this is the true blood of your Lord Jesus Christ, of the New Testament, shed for you for the forgiveness of your sins, unto everlasting life. Amen.

§ 12.

The communion being finished, the pastor shall say:

Oh give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: Hallelujah.

The congregation responds:

And his mercy endureth forever: Hallelujah.

Then the pastor says the following collect:

We give thee thanks, O gracious God, our heavenly Father, because thou hast refreshed us with these thy salutary gifts; and we humbly beseech thee to strengthen us, through the same, in faith toward thee, and in fervent love toward one another, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Receive the blessing of the Lord.

The Lord bless thee and keep thee, etc. Amen.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

CHAPTER V.

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD.

[This form is much more extended than what occurs in later editions.]

With this the interesting liturgy of 1748 comes to an end. Both copies have forms for baptism and for the marriage ceremony taken from the prayer-book of the Church of England. The Muhlenberg copy has also a German translation of the morning prayer and the form for marriage as found in the Anglican liturgy.

[1] The insertion of "true" was a concession to Revs. Wagner, Stoever, etc. See Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg," pp. 185 sqq.

CHAPTER XVII.

RELATION OF MUHLENBERG AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO OTHER COMMUNIONS.

THE entire life and activity of the founders of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania were such as could admit of no doubt concerning their fidelity to the Lutheran Church. They were Lutherans in doctrine, in practice, in spirit. It was not their calling to be scholastic theologians, or to spend their time in detecting, classifying, and arranging the various specimens of error current around them in the different forms of religious life in the New World. They were practical men, endeavoring to meet the demands of a great crisis. But, at the same time, they never allowed their confessional position to be concealed. Everywhere and at all times they spake and taught and preached as Lutherans. They never could have maintained friendship with any one at the price of being silent concerning any Lutheran doctrine, or of being regarded not true to the full consequences to which their confession committed them. They were not the highest models of the full joyousness of the Christian life and the sense of liberty in bondage to faith, found in Christ's service, such as the first period of the Reformation produced. Their judgment was by no means infallible. In some more, in others less, and in Muhlenberg more in his earlier than in his later years, the weaker elements of Pietism may be traced. But this only colored, it did not destroy, their Lutheran character. The discriminative biographer of Muhlenberg

has well said it is a question "whether without the Pietistic element in his spiritual framework he would have been that warm-hearted, self-denying, energetic, and humble servant in the cause of the Master. Pietism was the form under which, in those years, warm-hearted godliness almost exclusively existed in Germany. . . . He could not absolutely escape the influence of its weaker points; its strong ones never found a worthier or a more energetic and successful representative."[1] But in another publication he has also said: "Beyond any possible doubt, Muhlenberg was by no means blind as to the weak points and the dangerous one-sidedness of Pietism."[2]

The perfect naturalness and frank sincerity of their Lutheran convictions made them indifferent to inferences from their conduct, concerning which others would have been more painfully exact, whose regard for the reputation of maintaining, might sometimes exceed their regard for the real possession of the Lutheran faith. They were not, on the one hand, men of such broad liberality as to ignore the existence of ecclesiastical distinctions; their pulpits were occupied only by ministers authorized and indorsed by the pastors of the United Congregations. No one, not even members of their own congregations, received the Lord's Supper without a personal conference with the pastor. But, on the other hand, they were not only courteous but cordial, and sometimes even intimate, with many Christians outside of the Lutheran Church. Their very fidelity to the Lutheran faith rendered them glad to recognize the most vital and important elements in that faith wherever found.

Where the zeal of men led them into schemes for what was regarded as overthrowing or confusing the faith of

[1] "Life and Times of Muhlenberg" (Mann), p. 393.
[2] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., p. 157.

Lutheran Christians, or of leading them from its care and supervision, no reputation for devotion to Christ sheltered them against the condemnations of these loyal Lutheran pastors. Muhlenberg, Acrelius, and Wrangel are, for these reasons, most pronounced in their declarations against Moravianism. To Muhlenberg, Zinzendorf—whatever might be his conceded excellences—appeared to be the very incarnation of confessional indifferentism, and of the unionism which ignored the historical development of the church upon fixed principles. All the friendship he showed to others was upon the assumption that they were as faithful to the confessional position of their churches as he was to his.

His intimate relation with the ministers of the Church of England can be readily explained. The Lutherans and Episcopalians had like legal recognition as churches, while other denominations were without it. In England the accession of the House of Hanover had rendered friendship to Lutheranism more than usually cordial. The relation of Ziegenbalg to the Church of England and to the Lutherans in America formed a common bond. The intimacy between the Swedes and the representatives of the Church of England must also be taken into consideration. There was no rivalry or conflict. The Church of England never thought of sending German missionaries to the German or Swedish missionaries to the Swedish Lutherans. The regularity of the call and commission of the pastors from Halle was never questioned among them. Muhlenberg wrote to the Lutherans of Nova Scotia in 1771, that he had preached in an Episcopal Church,[1] and the language may mean that he did so more than once. His junior contemporary, successor, and son-in-law, wrote in 1797:

[1] In Roth's "Acadie and the Acadians," p. 297.

There is not a great difference in point of doctrine in all the Protestant churches. . . . With the Church of England, however, the Lutherans have and ever had a closer connection than with others, owing to a more perfect similarity in church government, festival days, ceremonies, and even some particulars in doctrine. The Episcopalian Church, indeed, does not call itself after Luther's name; but even the church called the Lutheran has not that name by legal and public sanctions. In public acts it is called the Evangelical Church. . . . The Reformed Church of England was, under Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, so modeled and modified that it bore the nearest relation to the church established in Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, Würtemberg, etc. The Lutherans have bishops, superintendents, seniors, and inspectors. The Thirty-nine Articles fully agree with the Augustan Confession, and every Lutheran can subscribe them. The two German chaplains at St. James use a German translation of the English liturgy. The King of Great Britain, as a Lutheran, is the head of the Church of Hanover, and one of his princes, on this account, is entitled to the bishopric of Osnaburg. At the accession of George I. the agreement of both churches was, by a conference of English and German divines, investigated into and pronounced to be as perfect as possible, which removed the doubts of their king, who is said to have declared that he would not renounce his religion for a crown.[1]

We have before noticed the circumstances under which there may have been, for a short time, some disposition on the part of the Halle missionaries to have welcomed some sort of organic union with the English Church. This was in no way influenced by any doubt of the validity of their ministry, or with the view of renouncing their character as Lutherans. As we look back, the inconsistency of that temporary position seems more and more surprising, especially in men who could expose so well the fallacy of a similar scheme on the part of Zinzendorf. Had they entered the Church of England they would have persuaded themselves that they were so doing while remaining true to the faith of their church. Muhlenberg's position, therefore, was:

Our nearest and best friends and well-wishers are the upright, pious teachers, elders, and members of the Established Church. They love, protect, and stand by us wherever they can, and we in turn do for them, out of love,

[1] Preface to "Six Sermons of Lawrence V. Buskerk," vol. i., p. 5.

whatever lies in our power. They favor us and give us perfect liberty, according to the Word of God, both to teach and to live according to the articles of our faith. We accord to them, cheerfully, the preference, because they have the mother-church which is established by law. Their articles of faith have been extracted from the Word of God as well as ours; their church prayers are taken from the Holy Bible as well as ours; they have the two holy sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, as well as we; their explanations of their articles of faith are as good Evangelical Lutheran as one could wish them to be; in a word, the doctrines of the English Established Church are more closely allied to ours than those of any other denomination in the wide world. We, therefore, have always studied to live in harmony with them.[1]

The great founder of the Lutheran Church in America was giving away far more than he was conscious of.

The reports of the English missionaries and others to the authorities in London contain a number of references to a possible union with the Lutherans. The English Church in Pennsylvania was numerically weak, and felt greatly its relative insignificance. Thus a report to the Bishop of London, in 1761, states that out of 280,000 white inhabitants 65,000 were church people, and then adds, in a footnote, that of these 40,000 were Swedes and German Lutherans, "who reckon their service the same as that of the church."[2] In 1764 Thomas Barton wrote to the Society for the Propagation of Religion in Foreign Parts, that the German Lutherans "had frequently in their coetuses proposed a union with the Church of England." This statement is an error. The "coetus" was a German Reformed body. Had there been any synodical action, we would be able to trace it. It may have been incidentally introduced in the discussions. He continues:

Several of the clergy with whom I have conversed are desirous of addressing his Grace, my Lord Bishop of Canterbury, and my Lord Bishop of York

[1] Letter to Nova Scotia (Nov. 15, 1771), Roth's "Acadie and the Acadians," p. 296 sq.

[2] Quoted in Wilberforce's "Protestant Episcopal Church in America," p. 133.

upon this subject. . . . The Germans in general are well affected to the Church of England, and might easily be brought over to it. A law obliging them to give their children an English education . . . would soon have this effect.[1]

When, in 1766, Brycelius went to London to receive from the Church of England what would be regarded by it a more valid ordination, in order to labor among the Germans in Nova Scotia, Provost Smith of the University of Pennsylvania suggested to the Bishop of London that to make such a requirement of the Lutherans in America was very impolitic; and respectfully submitted the question as to whether they could not be received "without this."[2]

When Dr. Wrangel was recalled to Sweden, it occasioned a great stir among the Swedish churches. Nearly three years transpired before he left. His close connection with the German ministers and active participation in all their movements seem to have been unsatisfactory to his Swedish colleagues, and to have induced the complaints which brought to him very unexpectedly, in May, 1765, a letter of recall. The members of his congregations resented the act of the Swedish authorities as an unjustifiable interference. There was much said concerning renouncing all allegiance to a foreign church which assumed, without a trial, to tear away a beloved pastor from a people devotedly attached to him, and with whom he was willing to spend his life. It was seriously proposed to petition the Bishop of London to take the congregations of Wicaco, Kingsessing, and Upper Merion into his care, and ask him to appoint Dr. Wrangel as the pastor, "to officiate conformably to the liturgy of the Church of England."[3] When

[1] "Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Pennsylvania," by William Stevens Perry, D.D. (1871), p. 367.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[3] Resolutions (not offered) from Muhlenberg's diary. "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 199.

Dr. Wrangel left, he went home by way of England, carrying with him an important letter of introduction to the Bishop of London from the Rev. Richard Peters. We do not know whether Wrangel was informed of the contents of the letter, and, therefore, whether it correctly states Wrangel's position. The project may have been to unite the smaller body with the great body of Lutherans, and to have obtained the sanction of the Bishop of London to this. The one theory is as plausible as the other.

Dr. Wrangel wants to take a just advantage of this general antipathy to the Presbyterians, and to unite the great body of Lutherans and Swedes with the Church of England, who, you know, are but few and in mean circumstances in this province, but, were they united with the German Lutherans, we should both become respectable. This Dr. Smith and I think may be done by the means of our academy. We might have a professorship of divinity opened in it wherein German and English youth might be educated, and by having both languages as a part of their education they might preach both in German and English in such places where there is a mixture of both nations. This would conciliate us all and make us live and love as one nation. It is a happy thought. I wish your lordship would talk with Dr. Wrangel and encourage it all you can.[1]

Twelve years later, when the Revolutionary War had severed the connection from the mother-church, and Episcopalianism in Pennsylvania was reduced to the merest shadow, application was made to the senior of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, by the Perkiomen parish of Episcopalians, for advice concerning the manner in which to procure a properly ordained rector. A young man (Mr. John Wade) was sent to him for examination. Having found him "sound in doctrine, agreeable with the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church," and "tolerably versed in reading and explaining parts of the New Testament in Greek," Muhlenberg (August 6, 1779) urged that he be chosen by the parish. The ordination, he suggests, could

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

be procured from "a united Protestant ministry" as well as from the Episcopacy. His precise words are of importance, since they express very clearly his opinion concerning the office and prerogatives of diocesan bishops, and showed that whatever may have been his inclination at times for a union between the bodies, it was not in any way determined by any preference for Episcopal authority.

The further examination and ordination may be easily obtained, if not by a bishop, yet by a regular united Protestant ministry, which is the nearest related to your Episcopal Church. For it is my humble opinion that in the present critical junctures an examination and ordination of a regular Protestant ministry may do as well as an Episcopal one. And since there is yet no Episcopal jurisdiction established by law in the independent States of North America, why should congregations be less destitute of the necessary means of salvation, be neglected and destroyed only for want of an Episcopal ordination? which is but a piece of pious ceremony, a form of godliness empty of power, and may be of service where it is established by law, though it does not appertain to the essential parts of the holy function[1] itself. In the Primitive Christian Church, the ambassadors and ministers of Christ could impart extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost unto believing candidates by prayers and laying their hands upon them, but this prerogative is not continued, and, while we may controvert forever about apostolical and Episcopal succession, experience shows too plainly that neither Episcopal nor ministerial nor Presbyterial ordination doth infuse any natural and supernatural gifts and qualities; otherwise we should not find so many counterfeited ministers, refined hypocrites, and grievous wolves in the Christian Church on earth.[2]

The ordination of Muhlenberg's eldest son, Rev. (afterward Major-General) Peter Muhlenberg, in London, in 1772, illustrates still further the principles which had been current concerning some form of union with the Church of England. The younger Muhlenberg had been called to the pastorate of Lutheran congregations in Virginia. He could not be recognized by the laws of that colony as a minister, unless he would submit to Episcopal

[1] Muhlenberg has in mind the German word "Amt," which he would have expressed more correctly in English by "ministry."

[2] MS. in Muhlenberg's papers. "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xii., p. 203 sq.

ordination. For that purpose he went to England, and, with Rev. William White, afterward Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania, received ordination from the Bishop of London, after examination and subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. But by this transaction it is wrong to infer that he intended to renounce his character as a Lutheran minister. It is a great inconsistency, but there seems to have been an understanding on both sides that this position was to be allowed. During his stay in London, before and after the ordination, his associations were principally with the Lutheran pastors. Although he did not visit the then enfeebled Dr. Ziegenhagen until after the ordination, and then received from him a decided protest against his course, nevertheless his first act, on reaching London, was to report to Dr. Wachsel of St. George's Lutheran Church. Five of the six Sundays that he spent in London, he attended morning service in one of the Lutheran churches. He preached, after his ordination, not in one of the English churches, but in the Savoy Lutheran Chapel. The most frequent names in his journal are those of Revs. Wachsel, Burgmann, and Pasche.[1] It ought to be enough that, years afterward, he wrote:

> Brethren, we have been born, baptized, and brought up in the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Many of us have vowed before God and the congregation, at our confirmation, to live and die by the doctrine of our church. In the doctrine of our church we have our joy, our brightest joy; we prize it the more highly since, in our opinion, it agrees most with the doctrine of the faithful and true witnesses of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We wish nothing more than that we and our children and our children's children and all our posterity may remain faithful to this doctrine.[2]

[1] Journal of Rev. Peter Muhlenberg, 1772. "Lutheran Church Review," vol. iv., p. 294 sq.

[2] Signed as president to a circular to the members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Philadelphia, March 14, 1804.

The whole aim seemed to be to obtain a recognition of the legitimacy of the separate organization of the Lutheran Church in America on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities in England. This was especially induced by the impending change of language. While the congregations were German, there was less need of such formal recognition; but as the English language, which the younger Muhlenberg had preached statedly in New Jersey, was entering, some recognition of the entire regularity of the Lutheran organizations was deemed by some a matter of importance. Such it was to a greater extent in Virginia than in Pennsylvania. However it may be explained, it is clear that those thus ordained regarded themselves none the less Lutheran than before. Dr. Kunze says:

> The bishops of London have never made a difficulty to ordain Lutheran divines, when called to congregations which, on account of being connected with English Episcopalians, made this ordination requisite. Thus by bishops of London the following Lutheran ministers were ordained: Bryselius, Peter Muhlenberg, Illing, Hauseal, and Wagner. The last-mentioned was called, after having obtained this ordination, to an Evangelical Lutheran congregation in the Margraviate of Anspach in Germany.

There has always been within the Lutheran Church, since the controversy concerning Frederus at the Reformation period, a difference of opinion concerning the nature of ordination. We must, therefore, understand those Lutheran pastors who submitted to Episcopal ordination as not holding a very high position concerning the rite. They probably regarded it, according to a very widespread view, simply as a confirmation of the call of their churches, and deemed it very appropriate if that call would receive the widest recognition and confirmation possible. They had no question as to the validity of their preceding Lutheran ordination, and might, even after receiving ordination at London, have resorted to Halle for

a similar ceremony if it would have been deemed expedient. The nephew and biographer of Peter Muhlenberg gives us one of the chief reasons for resorting to the Bishop of London: "In order that he could enforce the payment of tithes." [1]

Amidst the embarrassments of the Revolutionary War, Rev. William White, the organizer of the Protestant Episcopal Church, requested a conference with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania with reference to a union. The minutes of 1781 state that his request was complied with. The synod acted, however, with great caution. The conference did not form a part of the proceedings, or occur in connection with the sessions. Mr. White was invited to meet the pastors in Dr. Helmuth's house, where no result followed the friendly interview. Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg, Hartwig, Krug, Voigt, Schultze, Helmuth, Schmidt, Van Buskirk, Kunze, and the two younger Muhlenbergs (F. A. and H. E.) were the more prominent members at this session. Two years later, Mr. Wade, above mentioned, was examined by the ministerium and recommended to study during the succeeding year under Muhlenberg, Sr., Schmidt, Helmuth, Kunze, and Streit, with especial reference to the doctrines of baptism, the Lord's Supper, and predestination.[2] Mr. Wade afterward became the first Episcopal associate rector of the Swedish churches.

The pastors of the first period of the ministerium were on friendly relations with Whitefield. Dr. Wrangel interested himself in securing for him an invitation to meet with the members of the ministerium during the sessions of 1763.[3] In urging this proposition Wrangel did not forget the collections which Whitefield had made in Eu-

[1] "Life of Major-General Muhlenberg," by H. A. Muhlenberg, p. 34.
[2] MS. in "Minutes of Ministerium of Pennsylvania" (1783), p. 7.
[3] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 1122.

rope for the impoverished Salzburgers. The presence of a man who had pleaded eloquently in English pulpits for contributions to build Lutheran churches in Georgia, and with that eminent success which Benjamin Franklin has noted in a well-known passage in his autobiography, certainly deserved recognition, even apart from Whitefield's services in awakening life in the Church of England and in America.[1] But he was not in any way an advisory member of the synod. He was present at the examination of the children of St. Michael's Church before the synod, made a fervent prayer and an edifying address. On the next day he bade the synod farewell, and requested the prayers of its members.[2] The next year he was in attendance at the funeral of Pastor Handschuh. In 1770 (May 27th) he preached by special invitation in Zion's Church.[3] As the circumstances have been the subject of dispute, Muhlenberg's journal may here state the facts.

Friday, May 25th. . . . Because I could not do otherwise, I wrote a few lines to Rev. Mr. Whitefield, stating if he would preach for me on next Sunday night in Zion's Church it would be acceptable to me.

Sunday, May 27th. . . . Early in the evening Zion's Church was filled with English and Germans of religions of all sorts. We two preachers went to Mr. Whitefield's lodging and took him with us to the church, which was so crowded that we had to take him in through the tower door. . . . He complained of cold and hoarseness contracted at the morning service, but preached with considerable acceptance from 2 Chron. vii. 1, "Of the outer and the inner glory of the house of God." He introduced some impressive remarks concerning our fathers—Francke and Ziegenhagen, etc.[4]

1 "He was an evangelist of forgotten or ignored doctrines of the gospel; a witness excluded from many pulpits of his own church because of his earnestness in preaching the truth; in some sense a martyr. This invested him with interest in the eyes of our fathers, and his love to the Lutheran Church and his services to it made him very dear."—Dr. C. P. Krauth, "Proceedings of First Lutheran Diet," p. 290.

2 "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 131.

3 Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 406.

4 MS. in "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania."

Rev. Richard Peters, also a clergyman of the Church of England, was a frequent visitor at Muhlenberg's house, and preached in his pulpit, both at The Trappe[1] and, in 1769, at the consecration of Zion's Church,[2] in the presence of the ministerium. At the latter occasion, all of "the high-church" clergy were present in their vestments, and the prayers were read by Rev. Mr. Duchee, Dr. Muhlenberg concluding the service with an address.[3] The same year Muhlenberg was made one of the trustees of the Society for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the same church.

Of the Presbyterians, the names of the two Tennents, Gilbert and William, appear most frequently among the friends of Muhlenberg. At a dinner which the members of the ministerium had in common during the meeting of 1763, Rev. Gilbert Tennent presided, and, as the account says, "refreshed us with his edifying discourse."[4] President Finley of Princeton College was also present. When Muhlenberg took temporary charge in New York City, he visited the clergymen of the principal churches and announced his presence and purposes. Among those with whom he thus became acquainted, and who returned his visits, was Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, D.D. A long argument they had on repentance and faith, and as to whether the Lutheran definitions were sufficiently accurate, has been recorded.[5]

With Rev. Michael Schlatter, who was to the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania what Muhlenberg was to the Lutheran, there was a thorough understanding. The

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 850.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 1247 sq.

[3] For various explanations of these facts, see discussions in "Proceedings of First Lutheran Diet," pp. 283–291.

[4] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 1129.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

month after his arrival, in 1746, Schlatter visited Muhlenberg at The Trappe, in order to advise with him. No shadow seems to have ever darkened their friendship, amidst circumstances where nothing would have been easier than a collision and a break. Schlatter married a daughter of one of the most prominent Lutheran laymen, Henry Schleydorn, who has already been mentioned several times. At Muhlenberg's funeral Schlatter was among the mourners. How they strictly maintained the confessional distinctions without destroying their cordiality and coöperation is illustrated by an incident at Barren Hill in 1762. The Lutheran pastor conducted service in the then partly built church, and preached to his own congregation, and to a number of the Reformed who were present to receive the Lord's Supper. After the sermon the Reformed pastor made a communion address. The audience was then dismissed, the Reformed repairing to the schoolhouse, where Schlatter administered the communion to his own people.[1] The evils of union churches Muhlenberg appreciated and describes;[2] but did not hesitate to allow the Reformed to use one of his own churches at times when it would otherwise be unoccupied.[3] He preached the funeral sermon of the Reformed pastor Steiner, in Philadelphia.[4] Never hesitating to enter the pulpits of other denominations where there was no warfare against or antagonism to his own church or denial of its truly Scriptural character, he was faithful at the same time in preaching, maintaining, and defending the Word of God as taught in the Lutheran confessions; but he had too high a regard for the pulpit to make it a place in which to exhibit polemical zeal.

1 "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 895 sq. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 227 sq.
3 Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 452.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 390; "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 922 sq.

CHAPTER XVIII.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL GROWTH; DECLINE OF THE SWEDISH CHURCHES.

STEADILY, above and beneath all the discouragements and seeming confusion, the Lutheran Church was growing in numbers and in organization. New congregations were formed, and new laborers, however inadequate to what seemed necessary, were added. Muhlenberg towers above all his contemporaries, not simply as a leader but also as the spokesman of his brethren. It must not be imagined that his will and preference determined in all things the course of the united pastors amidst the circumstances by which Providence surrounded them. He knew how to follow, and, for this reason, he knew also how to lead. There were certain fixed principles with respect to which he was as firm as adamant; as to the mode of their application, he was a most careful student of the circumstances of time and place, and of the gifts, the attainments, the expressed wishes, and even the prejudices of those with whom he dealt. His most cherished plans repeatedly encountered most effectual checks; but he knew how to revise his plans and to utilize new elements, which his experience was constantly teaching him. Defeats only summoned him to concentrate his powers in a new direction. Every detail of the situation was not only kept in view, but faithfully recorded in his journal. From the reconvening of the synod, in 1760, there was no further break in its meetings. It lost its exclusively Hallean type by

the introduction of some who had previously been outside of the circle, with the result that charges against which Muhlenberg had to contend from without he then had to meet within the synod. This was seen in the defense which he most successfully made against the formal complaints of Rev. Lucas Rauss in 1761, who questioned his Lutheran character. It only brought from him the emphatic words:

> I defy Satan, and all the lying spirits who serve him, to prove against me anything in conflict with the doctrine of the apostles and prophets and of our symbolical books. I have often and again said and written that I have found in our Evangelical doctrine, founded on the apostles and prophets and set forth in our symbolical books, neither error, fault, nor anything wanting.

The names of the chief contemporaries of Muhlenberg are: Peter Brunnholtz, pastor in Philadelphia, arrived 1744, died 1757; John Frederick Handschuh, pastor at Lancaster, Philadelphia, and Germantown, born 1714, arrived 1748, died 1764; John Nicholas Kurtz, pastor at Tulpehocken and York, arrived 1744, died 1794; John Henry Schaum, pastor in New Jersey, at York, and in Bucks, Montgomery, Lehigh, and Berks counties, Pa., arrived 1744, died 1718; John Albert Weygand, pastor in New Jersey and New York City, arrived 1748, retired 1767, died before May, 1770; Lucas Rauss, assistant in Philadelphia, catechist on the Hudson, pastor at York and in Montgomery County, Pa., born 1724, arrived 1749, died 1788; John Siegfried Gerock, a Würtemberger, and, therefore, most probably a relative of the great Würtemberg preacher and poet of the present century, pastor at Lancaster, New York, and Baltimore, arrived 1753, died 1787; Bernard Michael Hausihl (Hauseal), pastor at Frederick, Md., Reading, and New York, born 1727, arrived 1752 or 1753, died 1799, his loyalty to the British having caused

his removal to Nova Scotia during the Revolutionary War, where he officiated as an ordained clergyman of the Church of England, in virtue of an ordination in England in 1785, and, at the same time, like Peter Muhlenberg, as a Lutheran pastor;[1] John George Bager, pastor first in the Palatinate, then in Lebanon and York counties, Pa., New York and Baltimore, born 1725, arrived 1752, died 1791; J. D. M. Heintzelmann, associate pastor in Philadelphia, arrived 1751, died 1756; Frederick Schultz, associate at New Hanover, pastor in Montgomery County, and in Nova Scotia, arrived 1751, in secular pursuits, and not regarded a successful pastor; William Kurtz, a younger brother of J. Nicholas, pastor at Tohicon, New Holland, and Tulpehocken, arrived 1754, ordained 1761; C. F. Wildbahn, licensed 1762, the former part of his ministry being spent at Frederick, Md., and in York County, Pa., and the latter at Reading, from 1782; John Andrew Krug, pastor in Reading, Pa., and Frederick, Md., son-in-law of Handschuh, arrived 1764, died 1796; John L. Voigt, pastor at Germantown, and in Chester and Montgomery counties, Pa., arrived 1764, died 1800; Christian Emanual Schultze, associate pastor in Philadelphia, and pastor at Tulpehocken, the son-in-law of Muhlenberg and father of the Rev. and afterward Governor John Andrew Schultze, of Pennsylvania, arrived 1765, died 1809; John George Jung, pastor in Franklin County, Pa., and Washington County, Md., arrived 1768; Justus H. Chr. Helmuth, pastor at Lancaster and Philadelphia, born 1745, arrived 1769, died 1825; John Frederick Schmidt, pastor at Germantown and Philadelphia, born 1746, arrived 1769, died 1812; John Christopher Kunze, pastor in Philadelphia and New York, son-in-law of Muhlenberg, born 1744, arrived 1770, died 1807. Of these, J. N. Kurtz, Schultze, Helmuth, and

[1] "Hallesche Nachrichten," new ed., notes, p. 635.

Kunze have left the deepest impression upon the succeeding history of the church. The descendants of these pastors have accomplished much, not only for the church their fathers came to serve,[1] but have been eminent in literature, in science, and in the politics of the country. A few have also been prominent in another communion. Nor must it be forgotten that the pioneer German missionary in Pennsylvania, John Caspar Stoever, whose service on the territory of thirteen years prior to Muhlenberg had made him averse to the latter's more rigid form of organization, had united with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1763.[2]

The beginning had been made of an American Lutheran ministry. Jacob van Buskirk was the first Lutheran born in America to devote himself to theological study. He was a member of the New York Dutch Lutheran family which has already been mentioned, and of the congregation at Hackensack, N. J. There can be no doubt that his studying for the ministry was one of the fruits of Muhlenberg's stay in New York and Hackensack during the summers of 1751 and 1752. He was born in 1739, and studied first under Pastor Weygand in New York, and then, from the close of 1759 until April, 1762, with Muhlenberg. After pastorates in Montgomery County, Germantown, Lehigh and Chester counties, he died in 1800. Rev. William Graaf, a native German, studied theology with Muhlenberg, and was prepared for a service of over forty years in the State of New Jersey, ending with his death in 1809. William Kurtz, partially prepared at Halle, finished his preliminary education under the same teacher.

[1] An illustration is found in the fact that of the five members of the faculty of Pennsylvania College when the writer was a student there, four were descendants of pastors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania during Muhlenberg's life. They were Drs. H. L. Baugher (Bager), F. A. Muhlenberg, M. L. Stoever, and C. F. Schaeffer.

[2] "Hallesche Nachrichten," old ed., p. 1128.

After Dr. Wrangel came, this duty was transferred to him. He had in his house what might be regarded a theological seminary in a primitive form, with three students —Peter Muhlenberg, who had previously studied in Germany, and took charge in New Jersey after being licensed in 1769; Daniel Kuhn, son of a prominent member of the Lancaster congregation, and who, for a short time, served the congregation at Middletown, Pa.; and Christian Streit, a member of one of the New Jersey congregations, who, after entrance into the ministerium in 1769, served congregations at Easton, Charleston, S. C., New Hanover, and Winchester, Va. Two other sons of Muhlenberg were ordained in 1770, after a thorough training at Halle. Frederick Augustus, after a pastorate at Lebanon and New York, and founding the New York Ministerium, became a member of Congress, and the speaker of the first and third House of Representatives, as well as president of the Pennsylvania Convention on the Federal Constitution. The distinguished Rev. Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg, known as the founder of St. Luke's Hospital and an order of deaconesses in the Episcopal Church, and author of several standard hymns, was his grandson. Henry Ernst was only seventeen years old when ordained. He was first assistant pastor in Philadelphia, then in New Jersey, then again in Philadelphia, until he was driven thence by the capture of the city by the British, and then pastor at Lancaster from 1780 until his death, in 1815. His distinction as a botanist was not confined to this country, and among his correspondents and visitors was Alexander von Humboldt.

In 1769 the idea of the establishment of a seminary in Philadelphia was suggested at the meeting of the ministerium. It gained strength with the arrival of so competent a scholar as Kunze the next year, who was subse-

quently professor both in the University of Pennsylvania and in Columbia College, New York. An academy was established to lay the foundation, but the project vanished with the outbreak of the Revolutionary struggle, not to be forgotten, but to be deferred for realization ninety years afterward. The Orphans' Home which Muhlenberg had in view, to be located somewhere in the neighborhood of Chestnut Hill or Barren Hill, was also deferred until after the middle of the succeeding century, when it actually came into being only a few miles distant from the spot contemplated.

The field had extended so that, in 1771, Muhlenberg reports in Pennsylvania and in the adjacent provinces seventy congregations, "large and small."[1] Many of the more enterprising of the Pennsylvania Germans had years before pressed toward the frontiers of their State, and then followed the prolongation of the fertile Cumberland Valley into Maryland, and far beyond down into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. They were largely families springing from those who had settled Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster, and York counties, Pa., strengthened by immigrants directly from Germany. It was to supply the demands of this immigration that Peter Muhlenberg was called to the Valley of Virginia in 1772, with Woodstock as his home and the center of his field, until, in January, 1776, he exchanged his gown for a colonel's uniform. The Madison County congregation in Virginia, for which the elder Stoever had made collections in Europe, had been served until about 1761 by Rev. G. S. Klug. He made occasional visits to the Lutheran pastors in Pennsylvania, and complained of his isolation; but even at that date the endowment of the church seems to have been a hindrance rather than an advantage. The life of

[1] Letter to Nova Scotia, Roth, p. 296.

the congregation was weak, and it lost many members to the Dunkards. A schoolmaster from the Paradise congregation in York County, by the name of Schwarbach, served it, and afterward a Pastor Frank who had been teacher in the Philadelphia congregation. Rev. Paul Henkel, as missionary preacher, had the congregation for a time under his supervision. Henkel was the great-grandson of Rev. Gerhard Henkel, who had been active in Pennsylvania and Virginia during the second decade of the eighteenth century. He studied with Pastor Krug of Frederick, and afterward lived at Newmarket, Va. His services belong mostly to a succeeding period.

The current of emigration from Pennsylvania reached even farther south. The Lutherans of North Carolina had largely come thither before the Revolutionary War, from about 1750, and settled in Rowan and Cabarras (then Mecklenburg) counties. The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge had taken them under its patronage through the intercession of Velthusen. Their first pastors were Adolph Nüssmann and Gottfried Arnd. The former was a converted Franciscan who had studied at Göttingen; the latter was a schoolmaster who came from Germany with the former and was afterward irregularly ordained in South Carolina. It is interesting to note that these pastors came as the result of the sending, in 1773, of two laymen, one from the Organ Church in Rowan County, and the other from St. John's, Cabarras County, first to Hanover, where the interest of the consistory was gained, and then to London. The supervision of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina was placed in the hands of the consistory at Hanover, i.e., the Lutheran consistory under George III. of England. The constitution of St. John's Church, recorded in the church book by Pastor Nüssmann, binds the pastor "to con-

fess with heart and mouth the symbolical books of our Evangelical Church,"[1] and to send reports to Europe every six weeks. The order of public service was: hymn of praise; collect or epistle; hymn; reading of Scriptures; creed or a short Sunday hymn; sermon; a few verses of a hymn; catechetical exercise; a long prayer; benediction; concluding verse of principal hymn. The Marburg Hymn-book and liturgy of the German Court Chapel, which we have before seen to have been a translation of the Book of Common Prayer, were to be used.[2] At the close of the Revolutionary War, the consistory of Hanover paid to these congregations the collections that had been made for them while communication had been cut off.

At Charleston, S. C., Boltzius had administered the Lord's Supper in 1734, and Muhlenberg had preached in 1742, but a congregation was not founded until 1755. The first pastor was Rev. J. G. Friederichs, for a period of six years, followed for two years by Rev. H. S. B. Wordmann, who had labored in Pennsylvania. Rev. John Nicholas Martin was three times pastor of St. John's—1763–67, 1774–78, 1786–87. The careers of Revs. Hahnbaum and Daser were brief. The records of the former forbid the pastor to "be addicted to the English Articles" and to attack the Church of England. The gown, wafers, the church festivals, gospels and epistles, and the use of the litany on Sunday afternoons, are required.[3] Christian Streit, who has been previously mentioned, was pastor from 1778 until driven away by the vicissitudes of war, there being a tradition of his arrest by the British in 1780. Muhlenberg visited the congregation on his way to Ebenezer, in 1774, and was occupied with adjusting serious

[1] Bernheim, p. 251. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[3] Horn's "Historical Sketch" (1885), p. 5.

difficulties, arising partially from its unsatisfactory organization and the lack of a proper synodical constitution. He advised it to petition the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for aid, and forwarded a copy of the petition to Halle. But, on the question of leaving the congregation because of its unsatisfactory condition, he gave the following pointed advice to one of its members, by stating the rule of his own personal course:

> During the thirty-two years of my sojourning in America, time and again occasions were given me to join the Episcopal Church, and to receive four or five times more salary than my poor German fellow-members of the Lutheran faith gave me; but I preferred reproach in and with my people to the treasures in Egypt.[1]

At the time of this visit of Muhlenberg to the South, in 1774, Rev. J. S. Friederichs was laboring in isolation in the Orangeburg district, and sought a personal conference, but, being prevented, he was encouraged by a letter; while there were two pastors, Revs. Martin and Hockheimer, in the Saxe-Gotha township of Lexington County, both of whom he met at Charleston. Rev. Bernard Hausihl (Hauseal), before mentioned, spent some time in South Carolina, between 1763 and 1765, with his relatives, but had no pastoral charge.

The Lutheran Church in Georgia had become distracted by a controversy between its two pastors after Lemke had died and Rev. C. F. Triebner, who shortly afterward married the daughter of his predecessor, had taken the vacant place. Not only the authorities at Halle, but the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, commissioned Muhlenberg in 1774 to make a visitation and pacify the contending parties. He reached Ebenezer, accompanied by his wife and daughter, in November, and remained there for three months. The result of his inves-

[1] Letter of June 14, 1774, Mann, p. 455.

tigations was astonishment at the blunders made at Halle in their mode of appointments. A mere novice had been placed over the old and experienced pastor Rabenhorst, who, in Muhlenberg's opinion, was the very kind of man needed in Pennsylvania. No one, he was convinced, could save the congregations from destruction except the pastor who had been so greatly wronged. But what could men in Germany know and advise about matters in America? The errors were inevitable. Rabenhorst knew the field; Triebner's confidence that he understood it perfectly was what might have been expected from his youth and inexperience. The open hostility was removed by Muhlenberg's efforts; but the irritation that had been produced continued to trouble the congregations for years.

A thorough revision of the church constitution was made by Muhlenberg, and signed by the pastors and members of the congregations. He found also that the charters were so worded that, strictly interpreted, the property could be alienated from the Lutheran to the Church of England. Before he left Georgia he had secured from the court at Savannah a change which protected the Lutheran interests.[1]

The Salzburgers suffered much during the Revolutionary War. Pastor Rabenhorst died about 1777. Pastor Triebner sympathized with the British, and left with their troops for England on the termination of the war. The church at Ebenezer had been used, first as a hospital, then as a stable; the presence of a licentious soldiery demoralized many of the people. When independence was declared, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge withdrew its support.

In his last years, disabled from active work and calmly waiting in his home at The Trappe, to which he had retired

[1] Strobel, p. 162 sq.

in 1776, for the call to enter his eternal rest, Muhlenberg's thoughts were often and long upon the suffering Ebenezer colony. His journals and correspondence show his intense interest that they should be provided with a suitable ministry. Once it was nearly arranged that his son, Frederick Augustus, should be the pastor; but the pressure to enter upon a political career was too strong, and instead of going to Georgia he went to Congress. In 1785 deliverance came: Rev. John E. Bergman, a Saxon, a graduate of Leipzig and a man of learning, who, notwithstanding the fact that his habits were rather those of the student than of the pastor, gained the confidence and esteem of the people, and at his death, in 1824, left a precious memory. He officiated at Savannah as well as at Ebenezer.

Returning to Pennsylvania and going northward, the two congregations in New York claim attention. Christ's Church (the "High German"), after having several unfortunate experiences, had been served for brief periods by Revs. Bager, Gerock, and Roeller. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was pastor from 1773 to 1776, until driven from the city by the approach of the British. Of the old Trinity Church, Hausihl was pastor from 1770 until 1783. The church building was burned in a great conflagration in 1776. Hausihl was an ardent loyalist, prominent in social circles, and a trustee of Columbia College. On the evacuation of the city he left, with the larger part of his congregation, for Nova Scotia, settling at Halifax, and receiving "orders" from the Church of England. In January, 1784, the remnants of Trinity Church and Christ's Church were united as "The Corporation of the United German Lutheran Churches in the City of New York."

While pastor in New York, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg attempted in 1774 to organize a ministerium for the State of New York. Concerning the fact that any meet-

ing was actually held, we are in ignorance; but Dr. Kunze, who ought to be most competent authority, declares:

> To the late Dr. Henry Muhlenberg belongs the immortal honor of having formed in Pennsylvania a regular ministry, and, what is somewhat remarkable, to one of his sons, who officiated as Lutheran minister from the year 1773 to 1776 in the city of New York, that of having formed the Evangelical Ministry of New York State.[1]

The thought was carried out in 1786.

To Waldboro', Me., forty families or more of Germans had been decoyed by flattering promises which were never fulfilled, as early as 1740. The French and Indians captured the place in 1746, burning the houses and either killing the inhabitants or taking them to Canada as captives. Still more glowing accounts of the prospects brought a larger colony, many of whom shared a similar fate at a later invasion. Nevertheless, through German thrift, the place grew; but spiritually the people were at the mercy of adventurers. In 1774 Hartwig was called by them as pastor, and visited the settlement. But nothing important was accomplished until a later time.[2]

Lutheran emigration to Nova Scotia had begun about 1750. In 1752 a Lutheran congregation in Halifax was recognized in a will, and in 1761 St. George's Lutheran Church was built, in which Lutherans were served by rectors of the Church of England. The simple-minded people were satisfied with a service in the German language, without regard to confessional distinctions. This parish became the scene of Hausihl's labors after he left New York. Lunenburg, whose name indicates the origin of a large portion of its people, seems to have had no one who could in any way claim to be a Lutheran minister, until

[1] Kunze's "Hymn and Prayer-book" (New York, 1795), Appendix, p. 143.

[2] Dr. H. N. Pohlman, "The German Colony and Lutheran Church in Maine," "Evangelical Review," vol. xx., pp. 440–462.

Brycelius was sent thither in 1767, after Muhlenberg had made various efforts to have the place otherwise supplied. He received English ordination in London, in order to obtain due legal recognition.[1] But the people were dissatisfied with what they regarded as duplicity on his part, and held meetings in order to procure a pastor true to the faith of the Lutheran Church. Another correspondence with Muhlenberg followed. Gerock was called, and declined. A special commissioner was sent to personally confer with Muhlenberg, as senior of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, for a member of that body. Muhlenberg himself was called, at the advice of Rev. Michael Schlatter, and actually took the call into serious consideration, in 1775. Finally, Rev. Frederick Schultz was sent from Pennsylvania in 1772, and served the Nova Scotia congregations for ten years. His successor, John Gottlob Schmeisser, was sent by Freylinghausen from Halle, and remained pastor from 1782 to 1806. The testimony given him by the director at Halle says:

> I give you this assurance that he is firm in the doctrine of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, as it is grounded in the Holy Scriptures, and from them set forth in the Augsburg Confession and the other symbolical books of our church; and from the departures from the faith now so common in Germany he is far removed.[2]

The Swedish churches on the Delaware had received a blow in the recall of Wrangel from which they never recovered. While it did not completely break their relations with the German pastors, there was no longer any intimacy. It rendered the younger members of the churches more and more dissatisfied with the control exercised over them from Sweden. The demand for English services

[1] Brycelius received Episcopal ordination twice, viz., from the Moravians in 1743, and in England in 1767.

[2] Letter in Roth, p. 341.

was growing. In 1773 two Sundays were devoted to English and the third to Swedish service in the church at Wilmington. Nils Collin, the last of the pastors sent from Sweden, who arrived in 1770, was already petitioning to be recalled. Göransson, who had preached an English sermon at the consecration of the church of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Pikeland, became provost, and did not bring much dignity to the position.[1]

The spirit of independence which was pervading the country was felt in the Swedish congregations. Daniel Kuhn, from the congregation at Lancaster, who, after having studied under Wrangel, had been intrusted with congregations by the ministerium, had gone to Sweden to continue his studies. The council of Gloria Dei Church petitioned (May 14, 1774) the archbishop and consistorium in Sweden to appoint Mr. Kuhn as assistant pastor. They frankly said that they wanted "a preacher of their own choice, and a native American." A few months later, they asked that Mr. Kuhn be appointed successor to their pastor, Göransson, who had announced his resignation. These requests were not granted. The correspondence is courteous, but shows that the authorities in Sweden insist upon retaining the control of the appointments, as long as they are expected to contribute to the support.

In 1786 Collin was appointed pastor of the churches in the neighborhood of Philadelphia, the church council of Gloria Dei expressing their approbation, upon the condition that the right of the congregation to choose a pastor "from this side of the water" should be respected. Three years later the final break was effected. A letter from the Swedish archbishop of June 25, 1789, begins:

As his Majesty finds satisfactory reasons, on account of which the congregations shall in the future choose their own preachers from those born in

[1] See examples from records in church registers, Gräbner, p. 397.

their country, rather than have them provided with Swedish missionaries at the expense of the Swedish crown, his Royal Majesty has directed me to express his agreement with this decision of the congregations.[1]

Permission was given the Swedish pastors to return as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. Dr. Collin, as is well known, remained, dying in 1831.

Whither were the Swedish churches to look for American-born pastors who could officiate acceptably in English? Their first thought was not in the direction in which they subsequently went. Of Wrangel's three students, they had asked fifteen years before for Daniel Kuhn. Now they made earnest efforts to induce Christian Streit to resign his field at Winchester, Va., and become an associate pastor in the Swedish-American field, but were unsuccessful. As there was no American Lutheran minister to be had, they called upon Rev. John Wade, an Episcopalian but the former theological pupil of Muhlenberg, who had been examined by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in 1781, and placed under the care of the Muhlenbergs, Kunze, Helmuth, and Streit. Thus unintentionally the ministerium had helped the Swedes in their transition.[2] Mr. Wade became assistant in the Raccoon or Swedesboro Church in 1788. The charters in Pennsylvania were changed so as to allow the pastors to belong to either the Lutheran or the Episcopal Church; and the Wilmington Church, whose pastor from 1792 was an Episcopalian, soon followed. In 1803 the first Episcopal confirmation at Wilmington occurred. Dr. Collin during his career had eight Episcopal assistants. The congregations were independent for a long

1 Gräbner, p. 402.

2 The note of Dr. Reynolds in his translation of Acrelius, p. 262, is liable to be misunderstood. The probabilities are that Dr. Reynolds himself had been misled. Rev. Charles Lute was a Swedish, not an American, Episcopal minister. See Norberg's "Svenska Kirka Mission," p. 188 *et passim*, where the name is given as Rev. Carl Johan Lunt.

time of any nearer connection with either denomination. But the name "Lutheran" was eliminated after a generation or two had been thus trained. Since 1846 the charter of Gloria Dei has declared its full connection with the Episcopal Church, and the rest have followed the same course.

We must ascribe the loss of these early churches not to any doctrinal, liturgical, or even linguistic reasons. If pastors had been furnished from Sweden fully able to preach English the rupture might have been delayed, but it would still have come. American ecclesiastical interests could not be properly cared for by consistories and bishops on the other side of the Atlantic. A church to flourish permanently in America must be supplied with pastors whose ancestors for generations have lived and labored in American congregations, and have grown into the knowledge of the field from their earliest childhood. The condition of the Episcopal Church in America, as long as it was dependent upon England for its government and ministry, shows that, even where the language problem is not involved, the obstacles to progress amidst such connections are almost insurmountable.

We have gone beyond the limits of the present period, as the subsequent history of these churches was hastening so rapidly toward a conclusion as to justify the anticipation. Our aim has been to give a general view of the Lutheran Church in America as it appeared at the time of the death of Muhlenberg. So closely was he identified with all its interests, and so prominently does he appear in all its parts from Nova Scotia to Georgia, that the history of the church, from his landing in 1742 to his death at The Trappe, October 7, 1787, is scarcely more than his biography. For ten years he had lived in partial retirement, preaching occasionally as he was able, but inces-

santly active with his pen in advising and directing those at a distance. The same thorough grasp of all details, the same effort to provide for congregations and the synod the most thorough organization, the same pastoral fidelity in caring for the spiritual interests of individual souls, both far and near, mark the close as well as the beginning of his career. In the late Rev. Dr. W. J. Mann he has had a biographer in every way worthy of the subject. The sermons preached and published after his death by Dr. J. C. Kunze in New York and J. H. Helmuth in Philadelphia, are valuable testimonies of the esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries. The great interest shown among Lutherans in Pennsylvania in connection with the centennial of his death indicated how strong was the traditional attachment in the churches which he founded and in which he ministered. The old church which he built at The Trappe still stands, preserved as nearly as possible in the condition in which it was when he preached from its pulpit. Under the shadow of its wall is his grave, with the appropriate inscription:

QUALIS ET QUANTUS FUERIT
NON IGNORABUNT SINE LAPIDE
FUTURA SECULA.

PERIOD III.

DETERIORATION.

A.D. 1787–1817.

CHAPTER XIX.

RATIONALISM AND INDIFFERENTISM.

ANOTHER period begins with the death of Muhlenberg. Its coming may be clearly traced in the preceding years, when the influence of the leader is gradually withdrawn from active labors. His younger contemporaries were men of the same spirit; but the very fact that they were not compelled to struggle so hard to maintain the interests of the Lutheran Church prevented them from rising to such heroic undertakings, and also diminished the rigor with which they guarded the distinctive features of Lutheranism. Lutherans they all were, true to the whole body of the confessions to which they had given their pledge; and yet they were inclined to abate somewhat in reference to the mode in which this faith should be defended. They had been educated under another generation of teachers at Halle, and felt the influence of the weakening, although not yet of the surrender, of these teachers to the fast approaching era of destructive criticism. They had been pupils of Semler in theology, in the first stages of his career. With the deterioration that followed they were well acquainted, and looked with dismay into the future that awaited the Lutheran Church in Germany. Helmuth, in whom the emotional especially predominated, poured forth his sorrow and apprehensions concerning the spread of rationalism in a letter to the elder Muhlenberg, in 1785, which the latter answered in an equally touching letter, declaring that such news must only drive one to prayer,

but, at the same time, assuring the younger leader that all such error must, according to God's Word, at last disappear, and that only the truth could be permanent. "Less learned men," said Muhlenberg, "sneered at Bengel's predictions concerning the approaching end of the world, but nevertheless the times showed that some of the signs of the end were appearing."[1] The darker grew the prospect, the nearer these men felt to all earnest Christians of other denominations, and, while doing so, thought that some of the tests heretofore deemed necessary might be removed. That this was not done with sufficient discrimination, the result proved. The founders of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had not been extremists, and a departure from their position was, in the beginning, a well-meant but unfortunate compromise. This was prominently manifest in the revised Synodical Constitution of 1792.

Before, however, this constitution was adopted, the New York Ministerium, projected, as we have seen, by Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, had become a reality in 1786 (October 23d), under the leadership of Dr. Kunze. At its foundation it comprised three pastors (Kunze, Schwerdfeger, and Möller), and the congregations in New York and Albany. At least eight regular Lutheran pastors within its territory, with their congregations, stood aloof, among whom were Pastor Sommer of Schoharie, son-in-law of Berkenmeyer, who represented the latter's antipathy to everything that came from Halle, and the then aged Pastor Hartwig, who preferred to continue his frequent visits to his old friends in Pennsylvania. During the first ten years of its existence it comprised thirteen pastors, four of whom came from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania;

[1] Letter of September 29, 1785, in "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania."

one (Braun) was a convert from Romanism, two had been pastors in the island of Curaçoa, three had come directly from Germany, where they had been educated, and three were pupils of Dr. Kunze who were ordained by the synod.[1] The first constitution was that then in force in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, so far as it was applicable. Of this, a revision was made in 1792. A peculiarity of this constitution was the provision which it made for the election of a president for life. Another was in the introduction of lay delegates as full members of synod, participating in the sessions with privileges equal to those of the pastors.

The constitution of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania of 1792 was in part the work of the same hand; for Dr. Kunze's membership in the Ministerium of New York had not severed his connection with that of Pennsylvania. By a strange provision a minister could belong to both ministeriums at the same time. When, therefore, in 1791, the corporation of Zion's and St. Michael's, Philadelphia, petitioned the ministerium for lay representation in synod, Drs. Kunze and Helmuth were appointed a committee to prepare a plan by which such representation could be introduced. The result was the thorough revision of the Synodical Constitution.

Instead of "The Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America," its sphere was geographically restricted in the title "Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania and the Adjacent States." Instead of being free from all linguistic or national limitations, it became the "*German*" Ministerium; just one hundred years afterward, the word "German" was erased. The office of "senior" was instituted as distinct from that of "president." Three orders of ministers were established, viz.,

[1] Nicum, p. 54.

ordained ministers, licensed candidates, and catechists. The New York Ministerium, the same year, recognized the two former orders but not the last. Both constitutions, in the same words, give all ordained ministers (the officers excepted) the same rank, privileges, and titles. "They have, therefore, in their congregations no overseer except the above-mentioned officers, and these only so far as this constitution imposed upon them the duty of communicating their thoughts and good advice." (Art. I., §1.) This shows a reaction against the authority over "the United Congregations" with which Muhlenberg had regarded himself invested. The felt want of ministers is seen in the same section of both constitutions giving all ordained pastors the right to instruct candidates for the office. The licentiate system is perpetuated from the former period; but the right of licentiates to perform ministerial acts is limited to the congregations with which the ministerium has intrusted them. Catechists were prohibited from confirming and from administering the Lord's Supper, but were placed under the supervision of a neighboring pastor, who performed these acts as there was need. The licentiates, but not the catechists, had a vote at the meetings of synod.

The most serious change in these constitutions is the elimination of all confessional tests. The only allusion, and that of a very remote character, is where catechists are required to preach the Word of God in its purity, "according to the law and the gospel." All reference to either the Augsburg Confession or to the other symbolical books, so prominent in the first constitution, has vanished. But too much must not be inferred from this. The congregational constitutions and the "reverses," or confessional pledges, do not seem, at least in New York, to have been changed, and in these the former require-

ments remained. In the New York Ministerium, in 1793, Rev. G. H. Pfeiffer was admitted after he had answered the question "Whether he believed all the divine Word of the Old and New Testaments, and accepted the doctrines of the symbolical books." The "revers" of Rev. George Strebeck, in 1796, binds him in a similar way to "God's Word and the symbolical books of our church."[1] Even as late as 1805, the Ministerium of New York required a pastor who came from the Methodists, Rev. R. Williston, to declare his acceptance of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession. But in Pennsylvania the decline at first was more rapid. Before the year 1800, and probably with the new constitution, the formula for the "revers" of catechists had become only:

> I, the undersigned, promise before God and my Chief Shepherd, Jesus Christ, that I will preach God's Word in its purity, according to law and gospel, as it is presented, according to its chief parts, in our catechism and hymn-book. I promise also diligently to hold instruction for children, to visit the sick, to feed souls, and to administer holy baptism according to the order of Jesus Christ.

But, however insufficient the catechism and the hymn-book as confessions, they were Lutheran standards, and the contents of the Lutheran faith were not formally denied.

Great inconsistencies with sound Lutheran practice, great obscuration of the clearness of the Lutheran faith, as well as an alarming condition of widespread spiritual torpor, can be clearly traced in the succeeding history of the mother-synod. It is a great exaggeration, however, to consider it at any time a rationalistic body. There was never any express renunciation of the distinctive doctrines of Lutheranism, which always had outspoken confessors among the more prominent members. The existence of

[1] Nicum, p. 70.

the counter-current was deeply lamented, but they excused themselves from a more decided protest by their confidence that errors which they abhorred and condemned could not live long, but must inevitably in a short time run their course. It is only when these departures from the faith of the Lutheran Church, of men in many respects to be venerated for other distinguished services, are cited as a model for future generations, that this darker side of the picture should be closely examined. Facts and citations in abundance could be introduced, but to what end? The lesson has been learned, and is universally acknowledged. In the rural districts, among those ordinarily in obscurity at synodical sessions, the more pronounced forms of rationalism were to an extent current, and often were repelled by humble people who had been trained under more wholesome influences. In 1813 we find in the minutes of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania a complaint from three congregations in Ohio, that their pastor was no longer faithful "to the old Lutheran doctrine," and Dr. Lochman was appointed to admonish him "to abide by the old pure doctrine and to make no innovations." Two years before, the same synod had warned the traveling missionary, Paul Henkel, to beware of camp-meetings. The representative men of the synod, such as Helmuth, H. E. and H. A. Muhlenberg, Lochman, J. G. Schmucker, were neither rationalistic nor friends of "new measures." Dr. Endress, of Lancaster, showed some sympathy with the type of theology which we will find prevailing in the New York Ministerium. Dr. Helmuth's relations with the Moravians were very intimate, and the proceedings of their conferences were eagerly read and preserved by him. With this, he undoubtedly became infected with the Moravian aversion to explicit theological definitions, and communicated this tendency to his pupils. There

was no formal rejection or antagonism to the old faith, except by a few relatively obscure men, whose influence was not regarded sufficient to occasion much trouble. The old synod was very tolerant; this was her chief error.

In the New York Ministerium, the process, which at first was less rapid, finally burst through all barriers with the death of Dr. Kunze, in 1807. This was due in large measure to the overpowering influence of Frederick Henry Quitman, D.D., pastor at Rhinebeck, a graduate of Halle, a former pastor in Curaçoa, and in 1814 a doctor of divinity of Harvard. He was a man of commanding presence, who stood in the midst of his brethren like Saul among the hosts of Israel, and by his intellectual force silenced opposition. A member of the Ministerium of New York from 1796 until his death, in 1832, he was for twenty-one years its president.

The catechism prepared by Dr. Quitman, and published, "with consent and approbation of the synod," in 1814, is a monument of the dominant tendency of the time. In elegant English, entirely above the comprehension of children, and in an order and with a vigor that showed a trained logician, an entirely new exposition of the faith of the church was proposed as a substitute for Luther's Catechism.

It starts out with the assumption that "the grounds of rational belief are natural perception, the authority of competent witnesses, and unquestionable arguments of reason." It denies that man has been deprived of free moral agency. The divine image has only been stained by sin. The catechumen is taught "to respect humanity" and "never to disgrace our dignity." That Jesus Christ is true God is not taught. A great deal is said of his "divine authority" and "divine mission" and "divine commission." That he is called "the Son of God" is ex-

plained "as well on account of his exalted dignity, and preëminence above all created beings, as on account of the great love which his heavenly Father manifested for him." So "he is called our Lord," "because God has committed to him the government of the church." He suffered and died, in order to "seal the doctrine which he had preached with his blood." "The forgiveness of sins" in the Apostles' Creed is interpreted as referring to "the sentiments of charity" we should exercise "for every one who has erred from the way of truth." Baptism has no more meaning than to signify that "as water cleanses our bodies," "so we find in communion with Christ whatever is necessary to purify our souls." The renunciation of the devil in baptism is a reminiscence of the days of early Christianity, when converts from heathenism thus obliged themselves "to forsake all idolatry and the sinful pageantry connected with it." Instead of the blessing which the Lord bestows in his Holy Supper, upon which Luther's Catechism dwells, this New York catechism has the following:

> What profit does the worthy communicant derive from this sacrament?
> He thereby strengthens his attachment to his Lord and Saviour, and his affection to his fellow-men; excites himself to new resolutions of holiness; increases his inclination and sense of his duty to promote the cause of Christ; sets a good example to those around; and renews his impressions of the saving and comfortable doctrine of the death and resurrection of Christ.

The identity of the resurrection body with that which we have in this life is denied, and 1 Corinthians xv. 50, "Flesh and blood cannot inherit," etc., is cited as the proof-text.

In a sketch of the history of religion, in the appendix, Luther's silence in his later years in regard to "improvements by his friends" is urged as showing that "he approved of these emendations." In his list of eminent

theologians of the Lutheran Church, no reference is made to the dogmaticians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but, with a few whose inclusion in such list would be generally approved, the names of Semler, Ernesti, Jerusalem, Michaelis, Doderlein, Koppe, are commended as advocates of the freedom of thought introduced by the Reformation. There can be no mistaking the type of theology which such a catechism represented. It was a skillful effort to Americanize German rationalism, and substitute it for the type of theology according to which the foundations of the church in America had been laid. But, as could be anticipated, it failed to obtain any extensive circulation. The stepson of its author, Dr. P. F. Mayer, provided, silently and without synodical authority, an edition in English of Luther's Catechism, with proof-texts —a revision of a previously issued book; and the synod, with equal silence, seems to have used it, since the "authorized" catechism was unsold and brought loss to its publisher.[1]

The synod was more orthodox than its president. Gradually a band of men of entirely different spirit grew within it, and the lines were clearly drawn between the two tendencies. Dr. Frederick Christian Schaeffer (born 1792, died 1831), pastor in New York, son of the pastor at Philadelphia, Dr. F. D. Schaeffer, and the eldest of four brothers whose learning and influence continued to contribute greatly to the development of the Lutheran Church in Maryland and Pennsylvania, was the most pronounced in his opposition to the current which was sweeping the New York Ministerium no one could tell whither. But he had to struggle as a very young man against those who in age were his fathers. Nor was the Ministerium of Pennsylvania satisfied. Whatever may have been the confusion

[1] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., p. 174.

there, a formal protest was made when the delegate of the latter body, in 1819, sought to rebuke what was regarded the deeply rooted Socinianism by preaching to the New York Ministerium on the text, 1 John i. 7.

Long before this, viz., in the year of Muhlenberg's death, a catechism had been published for the congregations in North Carolina by Dr. Velthusen, of Helmstädt, which is pervaded by the same tendency as that of Dr. Quitman.[1]

Such teaching soon showed its entire inability to live in America. It never gained a hold among the people; it never very extensively affected the ministry. Its worst evil was the loss of time and energy, and the deadness and indifference which it fostered. It bore within it the seeds of its own ruin. A bold and defiant criticism must itself fall beneath its own weapons. The necessities of the Christian life demand a positive faith, and turn from a religion of doubt and uncertainty, as patients soon desert a physician who has no remedies for diseases.

The unionism which prevailed was partly a symptom of the coming danger, and partly a reaction from it. In New York the tendency at first was toward the Episcopal Church. In 1797, under the leadership of Dr. Kunze, the resolution was passed:

> That on account of an intimate relation subsisting between the English Episcopalian and Lutheran churches, the identity of their doctrine and the near approach of their church discipline, this consistory will never acknowledge a newly erected Lutheran church in places where the members may partake of the services of the said English Episcopal Church.[2]

[1] "It is superficial, vague, unevangelical, exalting human reason, and degrading the work of Christ. . . . We are grateful to a loving Lord that our churches generally derived their men and books from Halle rather than from Helmstädt."—Dr. B. M. Schmucker, in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., p. 170.

[2] Dr. Nicum explains reasons for this action in his "History," p. 76 sq.

The records of the convention of the Episcopal Church of the same year show that negotiations were actually in progress for a union.

In 1797 the Rev. Thomas Ellison, Rector of St. Peter's, Albany, communicated to the convention the interesting intelligence that some Lutheran clergymen had, in the name and on behalf of the consistory of the Lutheran Church in the State of New York, intimated to him a desire to have it proposed to this convention that their church might be united with the Protestant Episcopal Church in this State, and that their ministers might receive Episcopal ordination.

It was referred to a committee with Bishop Moore as chairman, but fell through. Bishop Perry [1] gives certain reasons, but, on the Lutheran side, others could without doubt be found.

Seven years later the resolution was unanimously repealed.

The first separate English Lutheran congregation organized in this country was Zion's, New York, formed out of Dr. Kunze's German Church in 1796. In 1805 the pastor, Rev. George Strebeck, carried a large number of its members, and members of Christ's Church, with him into the Episcopal Church, and founded St. Stephen's Church. Five years later, Rev. Ralph Williston, who had been a Methodist and became pastor of Zion's in 1805, took the entire congregation, or as much as had been left after Mr. Strebeck's defection, into the Episcopal Church.

In 1794 the Lutheran ministers in North Carolina, before the formation of any synod, ordained Robert Johnson Miller, a Scotchman, and pledged him to "ye Rules, ordinances, and customs of ye Christian Society, called ye Protestant Episcopal Church in America." [2] Under this pledge, Mr. Miller was pastor of Lutheran congregations for twenty-seven years. In 1810 Gottlieb Schober, a

[1] Perry, vol. ii., p. 150. [2] Bernheim, p. 339.

lawyer and former member of the North Carolina legislature, fifty-four years old, and to the end of his life professing to be also a Moravian, was ordained by the North Carolina Synod, which had been formed in 1803, by Arnd, Miller, Storch, and Paul Henkel. After the Episcopal Church was established in North Carolina, and Mr. Miller had entered it, the Lutheran Synod and the convention of that church entered into an arrangement for exchange of delegates, having the right not only of a seat, but also, except when a division was called for, of a vote in each body.[1]

The current in South Carolina was in another direction. There, in 1788, five Lutheran and two Reformed pastors united in a *Corpus Evangelicum* or "*Unio Ecclesiastica* of the German Protestant Churches." The Lutheran pastors were pledged by the constitution to the symbolical books. The organization disclaims the idea of any renunciation of his denominational confession by any of the members. Two lay delegates were provided for each of the fifteen congregations—of which nine were Lutheran—represented. The Charleston pastors were never members. It was short-lived, no meetings having been held after 1794.[2]

In Pennsylvania the struggle for the German language drew the Lutherans and the Reformed more closely together. Muhlenberg and Schlatter had maintained their intimacy, without thinking of ignoring or confounding the important denominational principles which separated them. But as the importance of sound doctrinal teaching fell into the background, the language became the watchword which awakened greater zeal than that of faith. As a rule, the churches in the rural districts were union churches. These were sometimes occupied by union congregations,

[1] Bernheim, p. 460 sq.

[2] "Constitution and Proceedings" in Bernheim, pp. 291–303.

having one church council, in which the two confessions were indiscriminately mixed, but having, at the same time, two pastors, one for the Lutheran and the other for the Reformed members.[1] Intermarriage, without any change of faith on the part of either husband or wife, threw the family religious life into confusion, as some of the children would follow the father, and others the mother. Among the people the saying was current that the sole distinction between the churches was that the Lutherans began the Lord's Prayer with *Vater unser*, and the Reformed with *Unser Vater*. The Reformed Synod indorsed Dr. Helmuth's "Evangelisches Magazin" for circulation in its congregations.

There had been coöperation between the Lutherans and Reformed in Franklin College, at Lancaster, Pa. This institution had been the result of the efforts made by Benjamin Franklin to anglicize and educate the Pennsylvania Germans, from whom, it had been feared, with their lack of schools, a new heathenism was impending. With Franklin that heathenism meant nothing more serious than illiteracy. The Act of Incorporation of 1787[2] prescribes that the board of trustees shall consist of fourteen Lutherans, fourteen Reformed, and the rest from other Christian communions without distinction. Among the first trustees were Drs. Helmuth and H. E. Muhlenberg, Revs. J. N. Kurtz, C. E. Schultze, Jacob van Buskirk, John Herbst, and F. V. Melsheimer, and General Peter Muhlenberg. The Catholic priest at Lancaster was included. The president was to be chosen alternately from the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The purpose of the institution was stated as "to promote accurate knowledge of the German and English languages—also of the learned

[1] Such congregations are still in existence.

[2] A translation into German in "Acten eur Neuesten Kirchengeschichte," vol. ii. (1791), p. 366 sq.

languages—of mathematics, moral and natural philosophy, divinity, and all such other branches of literature as will tend to make men good and useful citizens."

The first president was Dr. Henry Ernst Muhlenberg. His inaugural, June 6, 1787, most forcibly shows the value of a Christian education. He chose for it a text, Ephesians vi. 4, "Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," and claimed that the religious instruction was to be the main object that should be kept in view in all the instruction.[1]

Another member of the ministerium was in the faculty, viz., the Rev. F. V. Melsheimer, sometimes called the Father of American Entomology, who had the comprehensive department of "Greek, Latin, and German." It was well attended, there having been one hundred and twelve students in the English department alone during the first year. But the financial management was such that it soon degenerated into what was little more than a local academy, until, in 1850, the funds accruing from the sales of lands given by the State in Venango, Bradford, and Lycoming counties—part of them subsequent oil-fields—were divided between the Lutherans[2] and the Reformed.

The original idea of providing for theological instruction in Franklin College was not speedily abandoned. In 1818 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania appointed a committee, which, in connection with a similar committee of the Reformed Church, should prepare a plan for a joint educational institution in connection with Franklin College. The next year the institution in view is referred to as a

[1] Eine Rede, gehalten den 6ten Juny, 1787, bey der Einweihung von der Deutschen hohen Schule oder Franklin Collegium in Lancäster, von Gotthilf Hen. Muhlenberg, Principal des Collegium, etc. (Lancaster, 1788), p. 15.

[2] The Lutheran share went to found the Franklin professorship in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, filled from 1850 to 1883 by nominees of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

joint theological seminary. The report of the committee, of which Dr. J. G. Schmucker was chairman, gives a thoroughly elaborated plan. The name was to be "The Theological Seminary for the Education of Pious Young Men to the Evangelical Ministry." There were to be two professors, one elected by the synod of each denomination, and eighteen trustees, also equally divided. Among their duties, they were to "watch against the gradual introduction of error, and lead the students to a knowledge of unadulterated truth";[1] but what this error and this truth are is not specified. A "Magazine" was to be published by the faculty, to which the pastors of both synods were expected to subscribe, and for which they were to secure subscriptions within their congregations. The professors were to be members of the board, with both a seat and vote, except in matters of personal interest. Both synods were to make equal annual contributions toward the seminary.

This was a scheme that could not be realized. It was only one of the manifestations of a desire for union between these two large German bodies in Pennsylvania, which frequently came to view during this and the early part of the succeeding period. An historian of the Reformed Church has well said:[2]

> It must be confessed that many ministers of the Reformed and Lutheran churches favored the organic union of these two bodies, not because they had reached a proper doctrinal basis for such union, but because they knew little and cared less about the questions at issue between them.

A very interesting indication of the current tendency was the publication, in 1817, of the "Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch" as a substitute for the hymn-book prepared

[1] MS. "Archives of Ministerium of Pennsylvania" for 1820.

[2] "Historic Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States," by Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D. (Lancaster, Pa., 1885), p. 265.

in 1787 by Muhlenberg, Kunze, and Helmuth. It was intended for the use of both the Lutheran and the Reformed, was recommended by the synods of both churches in Pennsylvania, and bore the indorsement of Dr. Quitman that "it is far better adapted to our present times than those now used at public service in the German Protestant churches of our country." The relative merits of these books may be estimated according to these professions when the words of the eminent Presbyterian professor, Dr. J. W. Alexander, of Princeton, in criticism of German hymns, are remembered:

"In looking through Knapp, I observe, with pain, that the nearer we come to our own day, the farther we are from the cross; more of the Muse, less of the Redeemer."[1]

Nevertheless these movements—strange as the statement may seem—were partially reactionary against the widespread rationalistic influences that were entering. When the most vital and most central doctrines were assailed, it was not unnatural for Christian ministers of diverging confessions to feel drawn toward each other in their defense. There would be more sympathy between a conservative Lutheran and a conservative Reformed theologian than between him and the professed Lutheran theology represented by the catechism bearing in 1814 the indorsement of the New York Ministerium. Where Lutherans were all in confusion because of the defection of prominent pastors and professors in Germany and America, it was not strange for other Lutherans to find sympathy in the association of those of a more positive faith within the Reformed Church.

So much must be said, in order to interpret correctly the position of the more earnest men of this period. But there is a darker picture—perhaps the darkest in the his-

[1] Schaff's "Kirchenfreund," vol. ii., p. 91.

tory of the Lutheran Church in America—that dare not be passed over by one who would be a faithful historian. It is that of not a few pastors, orthodox in the general sense of the term, not from deep personal conviction, but from intellectual indolence and motives of expediency. Settled in the midst of large parishes of from six to twelve congregations, ministering to an uneducated rural population, they preached the Word of God, but were occupied with the secular demands of their farms as much as with the spiritual interests of their people. That close personal dealing with individual souls that characterized the ministry of Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz was an impossibility. The pastor scarcely knew, even by name, the thousands of members in his parish, as he passed on Sunday, with all haste, from one church to another. A few volumes of sermons, from which to gather material ready for prompt use in the pulpit, and the local newspaper were probably the sole reading with which he supplemented the theological course he had received from some pastor thoroughly preoccupied with other duties. Not indifferent to attendance upon synodical sessions, where, for a time, the proceeds of certain European legacies were divided into small shares among those present, the connection of such pastors with the body was otherwise so loose that they were ready on the least provocation to declare themselves independent, and insisted that it was the office of the synod only to give advice, which, at their pleasure, they were free to accept or reject. There were no educational or missionary enterprises that could enlist their interest. Was it a wonder that, under a ministry thus secularized, the hearing of the Word and the receiving of the sacraments degenerated into purely mechanical services, that church discipline almost completely vanished, and that, amidst the great progress which the last three quarters of

a century has witnessed within these congregations, the relics of this ecclesiastical semi-barbarism have not altogether passed away? What the feudal lord was in the middle ages, the Pennsylvanian German pastor among both Lutheran and Reformed closely resembled.[1]

But such degeneracy was not without its protest from the synod itself. A printed "Appeal," sent out in its name in 1810, states the case most forcibly:

When the writer sat down to comply with the duty intrusted him by the synod, the earlier years of his pilgrimage in this western land came into lively remembrance. The simplicity of life, the warm love to religion and the worship of God, the kind and cordial demeanor of our dear country people of those days, passed in review. With the warmest emotion he thought of the many nights he had spent in their dwellings, of the touching prayers offered by the fathers of families about the hour of midnight to the throne of Jesus, of the conversations, prolonged into the stillness of the night, with the fathers and mothers, generally concerning the preaching of the Word heard the preceding day. Religion was actually with many the chief thing.

It was a general custom, when a pastor spent the night with country people, for him to devote the evening to godly conversation with the members of the family, to which the nearest neighbors were ordinarily invited; they sang, they prayed, and then, quickened anew to spiritual life, retired to rest.

It belongs, of course, chiefly to the ministers to care for your congregations; if they do not themselves pray, if they have no true feeling for religion, how is it possible for them to quicken the same in your hearts? Alas! it is often the case that the pastor thinks that he has discharged fully his duty when he regularly gives his services in preaching, etc.; this is indeed praiseworthy, but it is not enough. A minister should always manifest the warm heart of a parent for the members of his congregation. He should not always speak in the formal tone of the preacher, but in that of the father, who wants to deliver his child from a nearly impending danger, with the warmth and earnestness of one who runs to the rescue and stretches forth his arms to help. He should try to learn to speak as Jesus did during the days of his walk upon earth.[2]

[1] This has been treated at large in "Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund" (Schaff), vol. ii. (1849), pp. 129–140.

[2] "Ansprache an die gesammten Glieder der Deutsch Ev.-Lutherischen Gemeinen in Pennsylvanien und den benachbarten Staaten" (Philadelphia, 1811), p. 20.

CHAPTER XX.

SOME DIFFICULT PROBLEMS.

As before intimated, the language question occupied much attention and excited intense feeling during this period. In New York the process of anglicizing was much more rapid, and there was no permanent recession from the use of English introduced by Muhlenberg in the services of Trinity Church, New York City. Dr. Kunze preached in English, and published an English hymn-book and an English edition of Luther's Catechism. Afterward he obtained an English-speaking assistant in Rev. George Strebeck. He opposed the formation of a separate English congregation, holding that English services should be held regularly in the German church. The separation of the English congregation, in his opinion, did not obviate the necessity for the continuance of English services in the German church. While there was possibly an interruption during the first pastorate of the elder Dr. Geissenhainer, in Dr. F. C. Schaeffer an able preacher in both languages was provided. Throughout the State the process was so rapid that, in 1807, the English became the official language of the ministerium, and so continued until 1866.

The antipathy to English, on the one hand, and the anxiety to have regular English services, on the other, occasioned a violent struggle in the congregation in Philadelphia, of which Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt were the

pastors, which culminated in 1806 in the founding of St. John's English Church. The advocates of English, under the leadership of General Peter Muhlenberg, who had been president of the corporation, had not intended to form a new congregation, but insisted that a third pastor should be called who would officiate in English. The feeling was intensified by the impression, upon the part of the opponents of the proposition, that Rev. H. A. Muhlenberg, afterward minister to Austria, then completing his studies under Dr. Kunze, was to be the English pastor. At the election, January 6, 1806, 1400 votes were polled, the majority against the proposition being 130. Prior to this, the controversy had been carried into the ministerium, which at its meeting, in Germantown in 1805, passed the resolution that it "must remain a German-speaking ministerium," and forbidding the introduction of any measure "which would necessitate the use of any other language than the German in synodical sessions." English-speaking Lutherans not understanding German were encouraged to form themselves into congregations, with the promise that they would be recognized and admitted to synodical privileges, provided they would submit to the constitution. In a long private letter to Dr. Helmuth, Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg, in commenting on this action, urges the great importance of having pastors in all the congregations able to perform official acts in both languages, and states that while he has found it necessary at Lancaster to separate the catechumens according to the language that each understands, he has found it profitable to instruct the German catechumens in the English translation of their catechism, and the English catechumens in the German original. The same year his congregation at Lancaster declined to contribute to the synodical treasury until young men should be educated so as to be able to preach in Eng-

lish. General Peter Muhlenberg's appeal during this controversy has been previously referred to.[1]

Nine years later the controversy broke out afresh in the old church in Philadelphia. Another swarm of young people were clamoring for English services. The conflict was still more bitter. Disorderly congregational meetings, and even blows, were the result. An important legal suit, with such prominent counsel on both sides as is indicated by the names of the two Ingersolls, Binney, and Rawle, was instituted against Frederick Eberle and others, "for conspiring together to prevent the introduction of the English language into the service of St. Michael's and Zion's churches."[2] They were convicted, but were pardoned by Governor Snyder. Horace Binney said in the argument:

Let me now state to those Germans who are listening to this brief history of their society, what this history has made prophecy for all future times, that with the revolution of every fifteen or twenty years, so long as this bigoted exclusion of the English service shall endure, those who at the beginning are the enemies of the English will at the end of the period become its repentant friends. I ask those who know the nature of man, Is it possible in the center of an American community to rear children to the use and perfect understanding of the German language? Instances there may be; the diligence of some parents may do much, and the docility of some children may do more; but I speak of children in general. There is no doubt, it cannot be. How, then, are Zion's and St. Michael's to be recruited? How is the church to be maintained in even its original strength? Not by streams from the native fountain, the well of pure and refreshing waters, but by the turbid current that is rolled to this country by the discontent and restlessness of Europe. The church must depend upon emigration. The emigrant must supplant the native; and when he has been long enough in this country to rear an American family, that family must be rejected by the church to make room for a fresh importation of strangers and aliens. What the cause of the prosecutors is to-day, will, therefore, twenty years hence be the cause of

[1] A translation was published in "The Lutheran," Philadelphia, August 5, 1892.

[2] Its details are preserved in a bound volume of 240 pages, viz., "Trial of Frederick Eberle and others at a *nisi prius* court, held at Philadelphia, July, 1816." Philadelphia, 1817.

these defendants; their cause against some more recent swarm of emigrants, who, after experience has operated upon parental affection to turn these defendants from the error of their position, will conspire to rivet upon their children the same pernicious rule which they have conspired to rivet upon their predecessors.[1]

The ultimate issue was the formation of St. Matthew's Church, in which a number who had opposed the movement which led St. John's out of the mother-church participated.

How intelligent men could, in their prejudices, be ever brought to such extremes as those which were advocated by the opponents of the use of the English in the services of the church, is almost inconceivable. The "Evangelisches Magazin" contained in 1813 a series of articles under the title "Appeal to the Germans in America," which cannot be read without mingled amazement and amusement. They urge Reformed and Lutherans to stand together against all attempts to introduce the English. The English language, it is said, is too poor to furnish an adequate translation of the German prayers and hymns and books of devotion. "The Episcopal Church is not Lutheran, as many ignorant persons imagine; nor is the Presbyterian Church Reformed. Both vary from us in their confessions of faith." English congregations could not, according to this writer, remain either Lutheran or Reformed, because "our religious writings are all German." Children of German parents, as they become anglicized, are said to grow in frivolity and indifference to religion. If the Jews have preserved the Hebrew language in their services for so many generations, why, it is asked, may not the Germans, in the same way, maintain their national distinctions? With the utmost simplicity the writer says:

What would Philadelphia be in forty years if the Germans there were to remain German, and retain their language and customs? It would not be

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

forty years until Philadelphia would be a German city, just as York and Lancaster are German counties. The English would be driven to the bushes if they would build no longer in the southern part of the city. What would be the result throughout Pennsylvania and northern Maryland in forty or fifty years? An entirely German State, where, as formerly in Germantown, the beautiful German language would be used in the legislative halls and the courts of justice.

It is interesting to put such arguments side by side with Luther's words in his "Deutsche Messe" (1526):

I have no regard for those who are so devoted to but one language, and despise all others; for I would like to educate youth and men, who might be of service to Christ and converse with men also in foreign lands, so that it might not be with us as with the Waldenses and Bohemians, who have so confined their faith to their own language that they cannot speak intelligently and clearly with one until he first learn their language. But the Holy Ghost did not so in the beginning. He did not wait until the whole world came to Jerusalem and learned Hebrew, but He gave various tongues for the ministry of the Word, that the apostles might speak whithersoever they went.

The castles in the air built by these visionaries dissolved almost before they could be sketched upon paper, but were quickly followed by other dreams, that kept them in inactivity until almost fatal injury was inflicted by the protracted delay. The warnings of far-seeing men like the Muhlenbergs, true to Luther's instructions, were met by stolid opposition; and some of the best friends of the Lutheran Church, despairing of success under a leadership of those so utterly ignorant of their surroundings, and so different in spirit from Luther, gradually drifted into other churches. The transition in language was readily effected, and without loss, in places where, as in Lancaster and Reading, under Muhlenberg's son and grandson, the plans of the patriarch were carried out and his spirit prevailed. But where this was neglected, the loss was immense.

Reference has already been made to the beginnings of the work of the church in educating candidates for the ministry. Muhlenberg, with his many cares, we have

found making the start, Wrangel continuing the work, and Kunze following. The plan of the last was very comprehensive, as he laid the foundation in what was to have been a Lutheran college in Philadelphia, which was in existence from 1773 to 1778. It was followed by the establishment of a German department in the University of Pennsylvania, under Dr. Kunze from 1780 to 1784, and, after his removal to New York, under Dr. Helmuth. One of the inducements that called Dr. Kunze to New York was the prospect of a similar department in Columbia College, which would also comprehend a professorship of theology that he was to fill. The year in which Dr. Kunze went to New York, Revs. J. N. Kurtz, C. E. Schultze, and H. E. Muhlenberg were elected trustees of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.

Dr. Kunze's project was not successful; he never lectured on theology in Columbia College. But help for the educational work came from another quarter. Hartwig, who was a bachelor, had accumulated large lands, by judicious purchases, with a view to the ultimate service of the church, amounting in 1761 to sixteen thousand acres, but which afterward decreased to one third, through the management or mismanagement of the agent who had charge of them in the old age of their owner.

When Hartwig died, July 16, 1796, this estate was left to found an institution for pastors and missionaries, the venerable pastor having been especially interested in the neighboring North American Indians. Drs. Kunze and Helmuth were named as the directors of the institution; but when the latter, on account of the distance, declined serving, Dr. Kunze, with the sole surviving executor, provided for the opening of the seminary in 1797. But the plan was a novel one. Dr. Kunze was constituted theological professor in New York, Rev. A. T. Braun, of

Albany, was made the classical instructor in Albany, and Rev. J. F. Ernst was sent to Otsego County, to occupy Hartwig's lands and to teach the youngest pupils. Thus were established an embryo theological seminary in New York, a college in Albany, and a preparatory department where Hartwick Seminary now stands. Under this provision, Dr. Kunze became the theological preceptor of P. F. Mayer of Philadelphia, H. A. Muhlenberg of Reading, F. W. Mayer of Albany, J. P. Hecht of Easton, and others. Rev. A. T. Braun succeeded to the place on the death of Dr. Kunze, and held it until 1811, among his pupils having been Dr. John Bachmann, of Charleston, S. C. The location was fixed finally in 1812, when the buildings were begun, where in 1815 Dr. E. L. Hazelius became principal and professor in theology, with the son of the president of the New York Ministerium, John A. Quitman, afterward a distinguished general in the Mexican War and governor of Mississippi, as his assistant.[1]

The purpose of Pastor Hartwig to provide for missionary work among the Indians was not forgotten. Professor Braun had been a Roman Catholic missionary among the Indians. All his linguistic attainments were offered for this service. Dr. Kunze prepared an elaborate plan, which he sent to Halle and also laid before President Washington. The latter decided that Congressional action would be required before a beginning could be made.[2]

In Pennsylvania we have already noticed the founding of Franklin College and the proposed seminary in connection with it. Instruction for the ministry was entirely in the hands of pastors. Among them, however, the joint labor of Drs. Helmuth and Schmidt had a semi-official

[1] See article "The Beginning of Hartwick Seminary," "Lutheran Quarterly," vol. xxiii., p. 206 sq.

[2] Plitt's "Geschichte der Luth. Missionen," p. 268.

character, and they were considered as the faculty of a private theological seminary. Dr. Geissenhainer, Sr., while in Pennsylvania, and afterward in New York, Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg and his successor Dr. Endress, Rev. J. Goering, and afterward Dr. J. G. Lochman, of Harrisburg, were eminent as private theological instructors. The synod, on several occasions, appointed pastors, who were to be regarded its official theological instructors. In the next period, Dr. D. F. Schaeffer, of Frederick, Md., and S. S. Schmucker, of New Market, Va., appear.

In 1805 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania issued an especial appeal to its congregations for provision for the increase of the ministry. This educational movement was originated by the development of what we now know as home missions. The Lancaster conference presented to the synod in 1804 a plan for traveling missionaries, which was adopted. It had in view the twofold object of providing pastors for vacant parishes and of gathering the scattered and uncared-for people into congregations. Within a few years much was accomplished. The names of J. G. Butler, whose erratic course in his earlier years had given Muhlenberg great trouble,[1] John Stauch (Stough), and Paul Henkel are eminent among these devoted missionaries of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. They covered a great extent of territory, westward far into Ohio, laying the foundations for the numerous Ohio synods of to-day, southwestward into the Holston region of Tennessee, and southward through Virginia into North Carolina. While Stauch at first explored and supplied the valley of Virginia, especially Rockbridge, Botetourt, and Montgomery counties, in 1807, he became finally the pioneer of Lutheranism in Ohio, and Henkel's center was ultimately at New Market, Va. Rev. Simon was appointed for western and

[1] See documents in Archives at Mount Airy.

northern Pennsylvania and Ohio in 1808. Nine years later we find the name of the pioneer Lutheran missionary in India from America, "Father" Heyer, on the list of these traveling missionaries; and within three years his field extended into the States of Indiana and Kentucky. After an experience of a quarter of a century as a home missionary, he was to enter upon the work for which he will be chiefly remembered, during an interruption of which he was to resume his first employment and found a synod in Minnesota. Those may indeed be referred to as the days of small things, but they were not days of such entire deadness and inactivity as are sometimes imagined.

The New York Ministerium had extended its operations into Canada before the close of the preceding century, a scion of the Schoharie colony having reached the Williamsburg region already in 1771; but the pastors sent thither in succession left the Lutheran Church, and, in after-years, the disbanded and scattered people had to be reorganized. As this period closes, efforts are being made toward occupying western New York.

When the tercentenary of the Reformation was celebrated in 1817, the Lutheran Church in America had but three synods, Pennsylvania, New York, and North Carolina. Some of the district (then called "special") conferences of the mother-synod were, however, assuming synodical proportions, and gradually growing into synodical organizations. They printed and distributed their own minutes, with their own parochial reports, and their own action concerning the affairs of the congregations in their bounds.

The pastor at Charleston, S. C., belonged to the New York Ministerium. Pastor Dreher, of South Carolina, belonged to the North Carolina Synod. In Georgia the intimacy of Rev. C. F. Bergman (died 1824) with Bishop Asbury of the Methodist Episcopal Church had been fol-

lowed by the abandonment of the Lutheran interests at Savannah in 1804, until they were revived in 1824. In the old Ebenezer colony, the delay of English services and the deterioration of church discipline led to the withdrawal of a large portion of the people to the Methodist and Baptist churches founded in the vicinity.[1]

Some account of the literary history of the church up to this time, beyond what has been incidentally introduced otherwise, may be given most appropriately here. Allusion has already been made to the hymn-book of 1786, and the deterioration shown in the "Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch" of 1817.

Muhlenberg had complained greatly of the variety of hymn-books in use in the congregations, and generally within the same congregation. Of these, the Marburg hymn-book gained precedence, and an American edition was published by Christopher Saur, Germantown, in 1762. It contains, besides over six hundred hymns, the litany, a number of prayers, the Small Catechism, the gospels and epistles, with a collect for each Sunday and festival, and the history of the destruction of Jerusalem.

The Marburg book was generally supplanted by the hymn-book of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania of 1786. This was prepared by a committee composed of Drs. H. M. Muhlenberg, Kunze, Helmuth, and H. E. Muhlenberg, with instructions to follow the order of the Halle hymn-book, to omit none of the standard hymns of Luther and Paul Gerhardt, to omit the gospels and epistles for the apostles' days and other unusual festivals, also the history of the destruction of Jerusalem, the prayer-book, and the catechism. A new prayer-book was prepared for the appendix by Dr. Helmuth. The chief part of the editorial labor was done by Dr. Helmuth, who is responsible for

[1] Strobel, p. 244 sq.

the many changes made in the hymns. Muhlenberg's contribution to the work was the preface, and participation in the selection of hymns, his infirm health rendering any active share in the more critical editorial labors impossible. In the second edition (1795) the gospels and epistles and collects of the Marburg book are introduced, showing that their omission in the first edition had not proved satisfactory. With all the defects resulting from the efforts of Dr. Helmuth to conform the older Lutheran hymns to a more modern standard, the collection is one of a most conservative Lutheran character. "From the treasures of German Lutheran hymnology," says Dr. Mann, Muhlenberg "offered to the congregation a collection showing his preference for the older hymns of the church, without neglecting those of a later period. . . . There are elements in the book of 1786 for which we would not like to make Muhlenberg responsible. What he says in his preface on the principles which ought ever to guide those who are intrusted with collecting hymns for the use of congregations, and those who furnish the music corresponding to the sacred character of divine worship, has not lost its value at the present time."[1] After maintaining its position for nearly half a century, it was gradually supplanted by other books, until a new effort was made to secure uniformity in the hymn-book of 1849, in the preface of which Dr. Demme refers to the causes that had led to the diversity that then existed, and shows how the church had not gained, but had lost, by the disuse of the book of 1786.

Muhlenberg was the advocate of the principle which has been expressed recently in the "Common Service," having written in 1783:

It would be a most desirable and advantageous thing if all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the North American States were united with

[1] "Life of Muhlenberg," pp. 499, 500.

one another, if they all used the same order of service, the same hymn-book, and, in good and evil days, would show an active sympathy and fraternally correspond with one another.[1]

While the liturgy of 1786 is essentially the same as that of 1748, there are important changes, according to the action of the ministerium in 1785, when Muhlenberg had ceased to attend its sessions. These must be regarded as due chiefly to the president, Dr. Helmuth. Dr. B. M. Schmucker affirmed that "they are all of a piece. Every one of them is an injury to the pure Lutheran type of the old service."[2] Among them is the substitution of an extemporaneous prayer or one of the morning prayers for the collect for the day from the Marburg hymn-book. The same rubric remains, however, for the constant use of the same general church prayer, or the litany. A new general prayer is substituted for the one of 1748. This general prayer reflects the struggle for language in the words:

And since it has pleased Thee chiefly, by means of the Germans, to transform this State into a blooming garden, and the desert into a pleasant pasturage, help us not to deny our nation, but to endeavor that our youth may be so educated that German schools and churches may not only be sustained, but may attain a still more flourishing condition.

The first Lutheran liturgy published in America was still earlier, being that for the Nova Scotia churches in 1775. It is without any order for Sunday services. The general prayer to be used at every Sunday service is given. The order for baptism is without any reference to original sin, and that for the Lord's Supper shows a great weakening, although the word "true" is used in the formula of distribution. It must be the work of Rev. F. Schultz. Its existence was scarcely known until recently, through present pastors in Nova Scotia.

The first book used in English services in this country

[1] Mann, p. 501. [2] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. i., p. 22.

was the "Psalmodia Germanica," a translation of hymns from the German, published in London in 1722–25, second edition 1732. A reprint of the third edition was published in New York in 1756, and used in the English services of the Dutch (Trinity) Church, and in the church at Hackensack, N. J. Thence it was probably introduced into the other churches along the Hudson. The one hundred and twenty-two hymns comprised many of the standard compositions of Luther, Gerhardt, etc. Several of these translations of Jacobi are in use in the English Church Book (Nos. 404, 573). "The collection is made up of the choicest hymns of the best authors. It is after a very pure Lutheran type. If the translations only had the same merits and excellencies as the originals, the 'Psalmodia' would have been invaluable."[1] We give a few of the first lines of hymns, to show what was sung almost a century and a half ago in the English language in this country:

Now the Saviour comes indeed.
How shall I meet my Saviour?
O Lamb of God, our Saviour.
Christ was to death abased.
Come, Holy Ghost; come, Lord our God.
Lord, thine image thou hast lent me.
Commit thy ways and goings.
Dearest Jesus, we are here.
Never will I part with Christ.
God is our refuge in distress.
Ye Christians, pluck your courage up.
Shan't I sing to my Creator?
'Tis sure that awful time will come.
Eternity! tremendous word.
Jesus, Jesus, naught but Jesus.

Dr. Kunze published in 1795 "A Hymn and Prayer Book for the Use of such Lutheran Churches as use the

[1] Dr. B. M. Schmucker, in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. vi., p. 232.

English Language." It may be called the first model of the present English Church Book. It contains two hundred and forty hymns. Of these a large number are taken from the "Psalmodia Germanica," others from the Moravian book of 1789, with a liberal proportion of selections of English hymns, chiefly from Watts. Besides the hymns, there is a translation of the liturgy of 1786, the gospels and epistles, the Small Catechism, "Fundamental Questions," Starke's "Order of Salvation" as translated by Dr. Wrangel, "A Table of Christian Duties," "A Short Account of the Christian Religion," "A Short Account of the Lutheran Church," the seven penitential Psalms, and prayers for Sunday mornings and evenings, and week-day mornings and evenings. Excellent in conception and in its selections, the book lacks much in purity and correctness of English style. In the appendix to the hymns, Dr. Kunze, Rev. George Strebeck, and Rev. J. F. Ernst contribute translations of their own. The Augsburg Confession was translated for the book by Mr. Strebeck, but as the size of the volume would not admit of its inclusion, it was not set up. In the preface Dr. Kunze declares that it is a moral impossibility for the children of German parents to leave the Lutheran Church for no better reason than that they are unable to understand the German language.

> For they have, at their confirmation, entered the solemn promise of faithfulness, as long as they find the doctrine consonant to Scripture. . . . I know of no authority commissioned to discharge any one from this obligation, except the interference of conscientious scruples about the salubrity of the doctrine. Any other consideration that ever induced a person to break up the membership with a congregation, was a violation of honesty; for such membership is founded on a contract.

Two years later, the founding of Zion's Church, New York, was followed by the appearance of another book, modeled after Dr. Kunze's, by his former pupil and asso-

ciate, Rev. George Strebeck.[1] The proportion of translations retained is very small. The apology of the difficulty of the meters is made for the omission, and the hope is expressed that "none will be so bigoted to mere name as to censure us for making selections from authors who are not of our own profession in religion." The liturgy is somewhat changed. The doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confessions are included.

The defection of Strebeck to the Episcopal Church was followed by another book, prepared by his successor, Rev. Ralph Williston,[2] under the authority of Dr. Kunze, as president of the ministerium, who certifies in a testimonial found on one of the first pages to the thoroughly Lutheran character of the collection, every one of the hymns having passed beneath his criticism. This book obtained wide circulation within the New York Ministerium. Many copies are found in Philadelphia, where it was used in St. John's Church, whose pastor, Dr. P. F. Mayer, was installed by Mr. Williston. The liturgy again receives modifications, and shows the influence of the Episcopal prayer-book. The formula of distribution in the Lord's Supper has become: "Jesus said," etc. The gospels and epistles are printed in full, but neither the catechism nor the Augsburg Confession are given.

When Mr. Williston, with his congregation, entered the Episcopal Church, a hymn-book and liturgy were published by the ministerium, under the editorship of Drs. Quitman

1 "A Collection of Evangelical Hymns, made from Different Authors and Collections, for the English Lutheran Church in New York," by George Strebeck. New York, printed by John Tiebout (Horner's Head), No. 358 Pearl Street, 1797.

2 "A Choice Selection of Evangelical Hymns from Various Authors, for the Use of the English Evangelical Lutheran Church in New York," by Ralph Williston. New York, printed and sold by J. C. Totten, No. 155 Chatham Street, 1806.

and Wackerhagen.[1] It contained five hundred and twenty hymns, and "a new and enlarged liturgy," in conformity with the relaxed doctrinal position of its editors. The liturgy studies variety, giving two forms of confession of sin, and two other prayers to be used after the singing of the first hymn. Instead of the uniform general prayer, upon the necessity of which the Pennsylvania liturgies of 1748 and 1786 insist, instructing that no other prayer be used except under very unusual circumstances, the New York gives eight from which the pastor may select. "Supremely exalted and adorable Jehovah," "Infinite and incomprehensible Jehovah," "Self-existent and infinite Jehovah," have become favorite modes of addressing God, instead of the nearer and more familiar term of "Father, reconciled in Christ." A variety of "Benedictions" is given. There is a table of "Gospels and Epistles," with the advice that "there is an impropriety in congregations confining themselves, year after year, to these portions." All allusion to original sin is omitted from the baptismal address, which dwells upon the significative character of the sacrament. The Lord's Supper is preceded by the invitation: "I say to all who own him as their Saviour, and resolve to be his faithful subjects: ye are welcome to this feast of love." The formula of distribution has, "Jesus said," and the rubric says that the "minister is at liberty to substitute any other words in place of these."

Contemporary with these later efforts were those of Rev. Paul Henkel, both in German and English, whose missionary zeal did not prevent him from attempting to preserve

[1] "A Collection of Hymns and a Liturgy for the Use of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, to which are added Prayers for Families and Individuals." Published by order of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of the State of New York. Philadelphia, printed and sold by G. and D. Billmeyer, 1817.

orthodox teaching in rhymes of a not very high literary standard.

At the close of this period the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was preparing a revised liturgy, which was submitted, approved, and published in 1818, bearing on every page the marks of the prevalent deterioration. The rubric allows the pastor to substitute an extemporaneous for the general prayer, which the preceding liturgies required to be uniform, and other lessons for the gospels and epistles. The responsive character of the service is almost entirely lost. The New York liturgy has evidently been before the revisers and influenced them.

A translation of the Augsburg Confession into English had been made by Weygand of New York, and published in 1755, as an appendix to a volume of sermons translated from P. S. Nashkow, a Danish preacher, by J. S. Magens, a wealthy member of Trinity Church. Brunnholtz published an edition of Luther's Catechism in 1749 in German, and an English translation made by himself and Peter Kock, the Swedish-American merchant, the same year. It is interesting to note that Mr. Kock's share in the translation was undertaken first for the benefit of his own children, who were unable to understand the catechism sufficiently in German and Swedish. In 1761 Provost Wrangel published either a new translation or revision of this.[1]

American explanations of the catechism, either upon the basis of Luther's or independent of it, began to be abundant. Such were published by Dr. H. E. Muhlenberg (1796),[2] Dr. J. G. Schmucker (1804), Paul Henkel (German

[1] On American editions of the catechism see Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., pp. 87 sqq., 165 sqq. On English translations of Augsburg Confession, same writer, *ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 5 sqq.

[2] Translated into English by Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, Gettsyburg, 1857.

1811, English 1816), Dr. P. F. Mayer (1816), C. F. Temme (Nova Scotia, 1816), Dr. J. G. Lochman (German, 2d. ed. 1808; English 1822). Dr. Quitman's Catechism has already been given a fuller notice.[1]

From 1811 to 1817 the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had its organ in the "Evangelisches Magazin," ably edited by Drs. Helmuth and Schmid, and invaluable for its historical material.

Drs. Kunze and Helmuth both published volumes of poems. The latter is more of a true poet, reflecting the new school of poetry that was gaining influence in Germany. His poetical contributions were numerous, many having been printed and distributed on festive occasions throughout his church. Enough of them on loose leaves are preserved to fill a large volume. Dr. Kunze, as a poet, was less emotional, and more didactic and reflective. An admirer of Watts, he expressed the wish that the hymns of that English hymn-writer should be followed as a model in German, and gives an illustration by translating the hymn beginning "Join all the glorious names." Dr. Kunze's largest prose work[2] treats of doctrinal questions from the practical standpoint, and is learned, sober, and devout, avoiding no controverted question because it is controverted, but with calmness and impartiality stating the argument for the Lutheran position. Dr. Helmuth, the mildest and most peaceful of all our eminent pastors, has left a polemical treatise as, next to his poems,[3] his chief literary monument. Among the rest, Goering, F. D.

[1] On explanations, Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., pp. 165 sqq.

[2] "Ein Wort für den Verstand und das Herz vom rechten und gebanten Lebenswege," von Johann Christoph Kunze, A.M. (Philadelphia, 1781), p. 243.

[3] "Betrachtung der evangelischen Lehre von der heiligen Schrift und Taufe," etc., durch J. H. Christian Helmuth (Germantown, 1793), p. 336.

Schaeffer, J. G. Lochman, and J. G. Schmucker are especially to be mentioned. The last published in 1817 a commentary on "The Revelation of St. John," in two octavo volumes. Dr. Lochman, beside other work, wrote in English on the "History, Doctrine, and Discipline of the Lutheran Church."[1] Goering and F. D. Schaeffer entered into popular polemics, the former against the Baptists, and the latter against the Methodists.

But probably as interesting and edifying as any was Dr. Helmuth's little tract concerning his experiences during the epidemic of yellow-fever in 1793, in which—it seems almost incredible—six hundred and twenty-five of the members and adherents of his congregation died, and repeatedly he passed a large part of the day even to nightfall in his graveyard, burying the dead as rapidly as the graves could be prepared. Amidst these scenes of sorrow his heart was joyful in communicating the consolations of the gospel to the sick and dying, and noting how they triumphed over disease and death. His diary, speaking of cases where he believed his ministry blessed to the salvation of the dying, adds:

"My God, what happiness to be the deliverer of a single soul! I would not exchange the scenes of death in Philadelphia for the whole world."

The greater the danger, the greater the need, he believed, for the public services of God's house. Early in the morning, both on Sundays and week-days, the church was open for a service of not over a half or three quarters of an hour, and he preached as a dying man to dying men, having the attendance and attention of a large number who at other times were indifferent to religious matters. Discarding the ordinary artificially prepared sermon, he spake as an afflicted father to his stricken, terrified, and

[1] Harrisburg, 1818.

bewildered children. "Never, during the entire period of our ministry," he writes, "was preaching to us such a heartfelt work as we found it during these weeks of suffering; and never, we confidently believe, were we more serviceable to the Lord than at that time."[1]

Two interesting historical facts ought to be here preserved as bearing upon the prominence of the mother-church of Philadelphia. One is that of the letter of Washington acknowledging the congratulations sent him on his election to the presidency, and testifying to the patriotism of the German Americans during the Revolutionary War. It is addressed "To the Ministers, Churchwardens, and Vestrymen of the German Lutheran Congregation in and near Philadelphia," and among other things says: "From the excellent character for diligence, sobriety, and virtue which the Germans in general who are settled in America have ever maintained, I cannot forbear felicitating myself on receiving from so respectable a number of them such strong assurances of their affection for my person, confidence in my integrity, and zeal to support me in my endeavors for promoting the welfare of our common country."

The other is the following entry on the journals of the House of Representatives of the United States, Philadelphia being at that time, 1799, the capital:

Thursday, December 26th. This being the day appointed by the resolution of Congress for the funeral procession in honor of the memory of George Washington, late general of the armies of the United States, the House proceeded to the German Lutheran Church, where they attended the funeral oration prepared and delivered on the occasion by Major-General Lee, one of the members of the House for the State of Virginia.

[1] The account of Dr. Helmuth was translated by Rev. Dr. A. J. Weddell, and published in "The Lutheran," Philadelphia, during April and May, 1867.

It has been sometimes affirmed that in this oration first occurred the ascription to Washington of the title, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." This is erroneous, as these words are found in the series of resolutions passed by the House a few days previous, on the announcement of Washington's death.

PERIOD IV.

REVIVAL AND EXPANSION.

A.D. 1817–1860.

CHAPTER XXI.

NEW FACTORS.—THE GENERAL SYNOD.

THE tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817 ushered in a period of great changes and wonderful activity. Nothing was clearer than that Lutheranism in America could not continue to develop its interests in the quiet and gradual way that had hitherto prevailed. New issues were upon it, which it could not evade, and which even forced into activity the most conservative, except in the secluded recesses of the most remote country districts.

The extension of territory to the westward, the founding of new States and Territories, the construction of roads and canals, gave an impulse to immigration from the older settlements in the East. Immigration in America during the present century has proceeded in parallel columns, following the lines of latitude, unless an exception be found in western New York, where the Hudson River and Erie Canal turned the overflow of the southeastern corner to some extent toward the lake shore. The Pennsylvania Lutherans as a rule found a home, when they went westward, in central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, as those States were founded. North Carolina poured its people into Tennessee, and thence, with Virginians, who settled Kentucky and southern Ohio, into southern Illinois. Such immigration was imposing new responsibilities and making new demands.

The cessation of immigration to a very great extent since the Revolutionary War had enabled the population

to become more thoroughly assimilated to permanent conditions in America. The strenuous advocates of Pennsylvania Germanism had no thought of any allegiance which they owed to the country whence they came. It was a nativistic clannishness, which they thought compatible with loyalty to American institutions. The German element had been prominent among the founders of the government, and was becoming more so. The Lutherans of Pennsylvania had furnished the first speaker of the national House of Representatives, the president of the Pennsylvania convention to deliberate on the Constitution of the United States, a United States senator, and, during the period on which we enter, several governors, one John Andrew Schultze (1823–29), a former pastor in the ministerium, and a grandson of Muhlenberg. In New York one of the most prominent laymen of the Schoharie district, William C. Bouck (1842–44), reached the same place. Descendants of American soldiers, of members of the conventions to frame the State constitutions, of the Colonial and State legislatures, were scattered throughout the congregations, and mingled with those who, without military or political honors, had intimate business relations throughout the land.

The new demands created the need of a wider education than had hitherto been furnished. The boundaries of the church, and even of common national origin, were disappearing beneath such pressure. The leaven was constantly working downward, especially when, under the administration of Governor Wolf (1829–35), the Pennsylvania common-school system was introduced. Intermarriage with the English and Scotch-Irish elements was becoming frequent; and the effects were felt, partially in the current away from the German churches thus formed, or where the religious convictions of the Lutheran wife were stronger

than those of her husband, in the new names of the second generation, clearly not of German origin, appearing on the registers.

Candidates for the Lutheran ministry were in attendance at the denominational and other colleges that were coming into existence. Columbia College, New York; the University of Pennsylvania; Dickinson College, Carlisle; Jefferson College, Canonsburg; either had or were soon to have students and graduates in the Lutheran churches and ministry. The influence of Christian scholars of decided convictions and of other forms of religious life upon those thus trained was inevitable. When the Presbyterian Church established its theological seminary at Princeton, N. J., in 1812, Lutheran candidates for the ministry were soon among its students, and found there students from the Episcopal and perhaps other churches, with whom they became intimate. Who would affirm that the influences there exerted were not to be preferred to the neology that had gained the upper hand at all the centers in Germany? When the Lutheran Church in Germany could offer nothing better, it was only natural to look beyond the Lutheran Church for the advocates of a more positive faith. Nor, under these circumstances, was it to be wondered at that an open door was found in some places for revivalistic methods, which were becoming prevalent throughout the country.

Just at this time new movements enter from Germany. The East, as it sends its thousands westward, is replenished by a new immigration. While the East absorbs a large portion, the wave does not stop there, but runs through the channels made by those who have preceded, until it reaches the very frontier. During this period over a million and a half of Germans came. To show the progress, the following table for one year every decade is service-

able. The number of German immigrants landing in the United States were: In 1820, 999; 1830, 2658; 1840, 30,904; 1850, 83,921; 1860, 57,404. From 1820 to 1892 the number of German immigrants was 4,731,023. Among them there were large numbers of Lutherans. Settling in the larger cities, as many of them did, they filled the old churches, and rendered them indifferent to the loss of the descendants of their founders. At other places, where a mingling in the same congregation suggested difficulties, they rendered necessary the founding of new congregations. They helped greatly to check the movement toward the obliteration of denominational distinctions that was in operation. In the State of New York they gradually brought the ministerium back from the English into the German language, and saved it from the Socinianizing tendency, against which its best men were battling. The gathering of their children into churches and Sunday-schools was a great stimulus to missionary enterprise.

With these new immigrants the national spirit was stronger than with their predecessors of the eighteenth century, however much some of the latter may have struggled for language. Religious motives had largely prompted the latter; and they came, crushed and humiliated by their poverty and distresses, to seek whatever home God would allot them. The later immigrants were thoroughly sensible of the new glories of their fatherland, to which more recent years had made them the heirs. They came from a Germany whose language had been enriched by the literature of Schiller and Goethe, and whose thought had been deepened by the speculations of Kant and Hegel. Even the humiliations to which the Napoleonic wars had subjected them had only served to unify their national feeling, and, as the yoke of their oppressor was removed, to stimulate their national pride. While,

as a rule, a better class of people, if education and position be considered, than the peasantry who had preceded them, their faith only too often had been completely supplanted by wild ideas of intellectual license, or of visionary individualism. Those among them who clung to the church were in constant danger of being withdrawn from its communion or neglecting its worship through the example and teachings of the representatives of the more distinctively German national spirit in America. The German secular press of to-day is a sufficient illustration of what is here stated. As usual in every extremity, the Lord of the church provided, in time, among the immigrants of the nineteenth century, at least a few pastors, thoroughly trained in all the later phases of German thought, and the heirs of all that was best in her history, to stand as the representatives of a purer and more positive faith, and to aid in staying the current of infidelity and socialism that was threatened.

A more positive faith was awakening in Germany itself. The year 1817 was that of the Theses of Claus Harms, and of the formation of the Prussian Union by King Frederic of Prussia. Unjust and oppressive as the latter was to the Lutheran Church, it was a well-meant but unfortunate attempt to bring together the friends of a positive faith within both confessions. Its great theologian, Schleiermacher, is to be judged very differently, as he rises above the prevalent rationalism, from one who, starting in a confessional camp, would reach Schleiermacher's theological standpoint. However open to criticism, the movement was positive and upward. Nor were these church movements in Germany without their students in the Lutheran ministry in America. The periodicals for which they subscribed, and the books which they imported and marked, are constantly accessible.

The movements preliminary to the Prussian Union of 1817 combined with the feeling caused by the common interests of language and intermarriage among the Reformed and Lutherans in Pennsylvania to suggest the thought of a union between the two denominations. This does not seem to have been embodied in any formal action. The proposed common theological seminary has already been mentioned. The Reformed, with the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, were invited by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to unite in the celebration of the tercentenary of the Reformation.

The answer of Rt. Rev. William White, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was directed to Rev. Dr. G. Lochman, and was as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, October 14, 1807.

REVEREND SIR: I received the letter with which you honored me, dated July 23, 1817. In answer I take occasion to inform you that it will give me great satisfaction to join with the reverend ministers and with the whole body of the Lutheran Church, in this city, on the day appointed, in returning thanks to Almighty God for the beginning of the blessed Reformation in the three hundredth year preceding; and in raising up for that purpose the great and good man who has transmitted to your church his name, and whose praise is in all the churches of the Reformation.

This occasion must, of course, be the more welcome to me on account of the agreement in doctrine which has always been considered as subsisting between the Lutheran churches and the Church of England; the mother of that of which I am a minister.

You will probably be aware, reverend sir, that, under the existing institutions of the Episcopal Church, it is irregular to have especial subjects of celebration, unless it be the act of the whole body, or at the call of the civil authority. We have had no opportunity of taking the sense of our general convention on the subject.

That the Lutheran churches may always, as heretofore, be prominent in the profession of God's holy and eternal truth, and that you, reverend sir, may be an instrument in the hand of God to that effect, is the wish and the prayer of, reverend sir,

Your brother in Christ, and very humble servant,

WM. WHITE.

Dr. W. A. Muhlenberg has said: "In the case of any one coming into our church who had been confirmed by

a Lutheran clergyman, Bishop White did not think it necessary to repeat the rite." [1]

The celebration undoubtedly had its effect in quickening the pastors and their churches to a higher appreciation of what was involved in their Lutheran confession. After deliberating, therefore, on the project of a union seminary with the Reformed Church, and recommending a union hymn-book, it was natural for the Ministerium of Pennsylvania to resolve, in 1818, that, "in its judgment, it would be well if the different Evangelical Lutheran synods in the United States were to stand, in some way or other, in true union with one another," and to appoint its officers to correspond with the other two synods (New York and North Carolina) on the subject.

The motive seems to have been more than a centralizing one. It was a provision having reference to a further division of the ministerium that seemed inevitable. The Ohio Conference was already taking measures to become a separate synod. The Virginia Conference, it was foreseen, must speedily follow. Even the Lancaster Conference, with its missionary zeal, could not be absolutely depended on to be content with the more slow and deliberate policy that prevailed at the center. The aim was to find some way whereby the unity of organization might be maintained while local interests might be more efficiently administered by a subdivision, and then to ask New York and North Carolina to unite with the new districts of the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania in forming a central body. An amicable controversy with the North Carolina Synod on the validity of ministerial acts performed by licentiates had, no doubt, something to do with the proposition. North Carolina disliked the entire licentiate system, but emphasized much "the necessary unity with the

[1] Sermon at The Trappe, p. 26.

mode of procedure of our brethren in the Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania, which should be preserved as a holy sanctuary."[1] There was prolonged correspondence on the subject, and the younger synod felt aggrieved that twenty-nine licentiates should, with the twenty-two ordained ministers of the mother-synod, answer their protests adversely. A decision of a general body was longed for.

In North Carolina, therefore, the thought was welcomed, especially as the negotiations of that synod with the Episcopalians and their exchange of delegates enabled it to prize the more highly a more thoroughly organized form of government. Rev. G. Schober was sent to the meeting of the ministerium at Baltimore, in 1819, with instructions to do all in his power to bring the proposed union about. He was appointed a member of the committee that prepared "A Proposed Plan,"[2] which was adopted by a vote of forty to eight.

In New York the thought met with favor, but the plan adopted by Pennsylvania was unanimously rejected and a committee appointed to correspond further on the subject. New York preferred to have an annual interchange of delegates among all the synods.[3]

In Ohio, where the synod was organized in 1818, the plan was rejected, largely in consequence of an anonymous document giving eight objections to it. Among these were such as the following: The introduction of uniform hymn-books and liturgies is contrary to Art. VII. of the Augsburg Confession; the freedom and parity of the min-

[1] "Minutes," 1816, p. 10.

[2] Plan is given by Rev. J. W. Early in article on "The Organization of the General Synod," drawn mostly from manuscript records of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, "Lutheran Church Review," vol. xi., pp. 61 sqq.

[3] "Americanische Ansichten von dem Gottesdienst und andern Eigenheiten der Deutschen" (Philadelphia, January, 1820), p. 46.

istry is infringed upon, since the delegates to the General Synod will usurp their rights; an act of incorporation will follow, and the resolutions will be enforced by the strong arm of the law; the Ministerium of Ohio must remain a German-speaking body, and, in the General Synod, the English will soon prevail; etc.[1]

Undaunted, however, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, sustained by North Carolina, pursued its course and inaugurated the plan. The convention to adopt a constitution was held in Hagerstown, Md., beginning October 22, 1820. New York thought better of its action the preceding year, and sent two clerical delegates. The Virginia Conference of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, which had become a separate synod that year, and which, with the congregations in Maryland, now formed the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, was represented. Altogether there appeared four synods, with eleven clerical and four lay delegates, eight from Pennsylvania and seven from the other synods. But the North Carolina Synod had been broken four months before by the withdrawal of the pastors and congregations which formed the Tennessee Synod.

At the next meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod, in face of a protest from one of the pastoral charges, the constitution of the General Synod was adopted, after a long discussion, by the overwhelming majority of sixty-seven to six. But when the General Synod at last convened at Frederick, Md., October 21–23, 1821, there were but ten delegates present, six of whom (Drs. J. G. Schmucker, G. Lochman, and C. Endress, with three laymen) were from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, while Revs. G. Schober and D. Scherer represented North Carolina, and Rev. D. F. Schaeffer and a lay delegate Maryland and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

Virginia. New York was not represented in any convention until 1837. Ohio elected delegates for the convention of 1823, but when it was learned that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had withdrawn, they did not attend,[1] and this synod never joined the General Synod.

The withdrawal of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in 1823, was due to the fact that the leaders of that synod were unable to overcome the opposition of the congregations in the rural districts. The Reformed as well as the Lutheran Church was passing through a crisis. A country schoolteacher, by the name of Carl Gock, published a small volume, in which he excited the prejudices of the country people against the projected General Synod of the Reformed Church. The scheme was declared to be a plan of the ministers to tread the rights of the people under foot. An entire chapter was devoted to a picture of the despotism exercised by Catholic priests in Europe, and a warning that the formation of a General Synod was attended with such perils. Another chapter dwells on the great evils of theological seminaries, and urges that the money of the people would be better spent in the establishment of elementary schools. All the proceedings of a General Synod, it is urged, will be in English, and the rights of the German will be given away, because the lay delegates will not know what is transpiring. It will be "an aristocratic spiritual congress." As to the expenses, "who is to pay? We farmers. Collections upon collections," etc.[2]

Ludicrous though the book appear to those who read it

[1] Spielman, p. 15.

[2] The writer becomes most eloquent in the apostrophe:

"Spirit of Washington, appear from the spirit world, quicken in us the true sense of freedom, in order that the foundation thou hast laid we may defend even with our blood."

now, such prejudices diffused far and wide among ignorant and narrow-minded people were sure to do damage. So closely connected were the Reformed and the Lutherans —worshiping in many places in the same churches, bound together in a most tangled web of intermarriages, and politically combined against the imagined encroachments of the Anglo-Americans—that any matter of general interest in one communion was almost as deeply felt in the other.

The country clergy, from the beginning, had not cared much for the General Synod, which had its chief advocates in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, York, Lancaster, and Reading. While they had generally voted for it, they made no efforts, when the excitement against it arose among their people, to instruct them or withstand the current, but acquiesced and carried their demands to synod.

The form of the opposition, however, was that the General Synod interfered with the plans that had been projected for a closer union with the Reformed, and the establishment of a Lutheran-Reformed theological seminary. Congregations in Lehigh County petitioned the synod, for this reason, to "return to the old order of things"; and the synod, in the spirit of charity toward its congregations, in order that nothing might interrupt the mutual fraternal love that subsisted between the brethren, consented, by a vote of seventy-two to nine,[1] to desert the child which it had brought into being.

The General Synod must be regarded as a very important forward movement, and its influence as beneficial. It necessarily was not without the weaknesses that character-

[1] The nine were: Dr. G. Lochman, Revs. J. Herbst, B. Keller, C. F. Cruse (afterward an Episcopalian, and translator of Eusebius), and J. Schnee; and the lay delegates Barnitz of York, Stoever of Germantown, Schmeiser of Gettysburg, and Bohn of Berlin.

ized the Lutheran Church in America at that time. One who ignores the entire historical development will find much to criticise and condemn, when examined from the standpoint of what is demanded by consistency with accurate theological definitions and clear conceptions of church polity. But he will find just as much that incurs the same judgment in the proceedings of the synods that united to form it. The faults peculiar to each synod were lost, while only the common faults of them all remained. The General Synod was a protest against the Socinianizing tendency in New York and the schemes of a union with the Reformed in Pennsylvania and with the Episcopalians in North Carolina. It stood for the independent existence of the Lutheran Church in America, and the clear and unequivocal confession of a positive faith. It failed, as its founders in the several synods had failed, in specifically determining the contents of this faith. It was not ready yet, as these synods were not ready, to return to the foundations laid by Muhlenberg and his associates, and from which there had been a general recession from twenty-five to thirty years before. Lament defects as we may, the General Synod saved the church, as it became anglicized, from the calamity of the type of doctrine which within the New York Ministerium had been introduced into the English language. It had an outlook that included in its sweep the entire church in all its interests, as the reports on the state of the Lutheran Church, in the various synods of the country and throughout the world, appended to its minutes, show.

Between the General Synod and the bodies that stood outside of it there was no antagonism. Synods, within and outside of the General Synod, interchanged delegates. Pastors and congregations of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania warmly sympathized with movements occurring in

the General Synod, and freely contributed to them. Concerning this relationship, Dr. S. S. Schmucker has testified:

> Much might be said of the honorable manner in which the greater part of the brethren and churches in East Pennsylvania and elsewhere, whilst yielding to the prejudices of the weaker members, yet continued to afford their substantial and increasing aid to every good work undertaken by this synod, so that much of the credit for what has been achieved is justly due to their coöperation.[1]

But for many years it was numerically small, and could claim scarcely more than to keep in remembrance the idea of the desirability of a general organization of synods in the probable distant future. After the withdrawal of the mother-synod, its members living west of the Susquehanna had formed the West Pennsylvania Synod in 1823. For eight years, until 1831, it comprised the three relatively small synods of North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, and West Pennsylvania. The Hartwick Synod—a child of the New York Ministerium—was admitted that year, and four years later came the South Carolina Synod. In 1837 the New York Ministerium returned. In 1829 there were one hundred and twenty-three ministers in the synods not connected with the General Synod, and seventy-four within it. In 1834, out of 60,971 communicants the General Synod had 20,249, and the Ministerium of Pennsylvania 26,882.

The experience of the church of former days had to be lived over, and the value of a confessional position to be learned by all alike, amidst the conflicts to maintain denominational existence through which they passed. Indefinite and unsatisfactory although that of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was, nevertheless there remained in its

[1] "Retrospect of Lutheranism" (Baltimore, 1841), p. 19.

congregations the traditions of a better period, which were never entirely forsaken, and a conservative spirit combined with sincere and unobtrusive piety in many cases where the appearances would have denied it. There was genuine life there, awaiting the hour for a fuller development. It was not an unmixed evil that all the synods were not included in the General Synod, and that the growth was in parallel lines. In many of the congregations of the General Synod the conservatism was almost equally as strong as in the older synods which stood aloof; and from the laity, again and again, as in the Pennsylvania Synod of 1813, came forth those who could not accept of the more radical positions of professors and leaders, which they saw were different from the spirit and temper of the religion of their fathers and mothers.

Within the General Synod, the process of anglicizing proceeding with greater rapidity, the lack of the presence of confessional safeguards was more quickly felt, as the influence of other denominations became more pressing. According to the conception of prominent leaders, the General Synod was nothing more than the realization of Zinzendorf's dream of 1742,[1] which the coming of Muhlenberg had so quickly dissipated. But there were always those who, however peaceful and sometimes inconsistent, were at heart true to the faith of the church, and hoped to see the General Synod, to which they were most heartily devoted, still clearer in its testimony.

The establishment of a theological seminary was one of the first subjects to which the attention of the General Synod was called. It was introduced by a letter of Rev. Dr. F. W. Geissenhainer, Sr., who had been a *privat-docent* at Göttingen and a succcessful instructor of candidates for the ministry in New York and Pennsylvania. If

[1] See Chapter xi., pp. 197 sqq.

the two older synods had remained in the General Synod, the seminary would probably have been established in eastern Pennsylvania. With the Susquehanna the eastern and northern boundary of the General Synod, the location of the seminary at Gettysburg, in 1826, was natural. The first professor elected was a young man, twenty-seven years old, who for nearly half a century exercised, as professor, author, and ecclesiastical leader, a most powerful influence.

Samuel Simon Schmucker was the eldest son of Rev. Dr. J. G. Schmucker. Born in 1799, he was early placed under the care of his father's theological preceptor and lifelong friend, Dr. Helmuth, of Philadelphia.[1] He left the University of Pennsylvania at the close of the sophomore year, but was graduated while a theological student at Princeton. He graduated at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1820, having been a pupil of Drs. A. Alexander and S. Miller, and a fellow-student of Bishops McIlvaine and Johns of the Episcopal Church, and of Dr. Charles Hodge. From 1820 to 1826 he was pastor at New Market, Va., and its vicinity. In 1823 he first appeared as a delegate to the General Synod, and at once assumed the leadership. While at New Market he became theological preceptor of a number of candidates for the ministry. In 1822 he prepared the "Formula for the Government and Discipline of the Lutheran Church," for the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, which was afterward adopted by the General Synod, and determined the organization and administration of its congregations and synods. From the convention to establish the General Synod in 1819 until 1870 he was present, either as visitor or as delegate, at every convention.

[1] May 4, 1807, Dr. Helmuth writes: "If the little man were my own child, I could not wish for him more good from the Lord."

The associations formed during his student days in Philadelphia and at Princeton were maintained and extended. He was on terms of intimate friendship and correspondence with many of the leading divines of other churches, and active in the American Tract Society and other general organizations. The May anniversaries in New York were habitually attended. He was one of the first advocates of the movement that culminated in the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1846, and attended the opening sessions in London, in company with other representatives from the General Synod. He threw all the energy of his life into the General Synod and the institutions at Gettysburg, withholding from them no amount of personal sacrifice or toil. Perfectly imperturbable, he moved forward toward the end in view without regard to obstacles. Never have higher executive abilities been at the service of the church. He was excelled by colleagues and pupils in width and depth of scholarship, in critical skill, and in love of research—he was neither an exegete nor an historian nor a dogmatician, in the proper sense of the term—but was distinguished for acuteness and his desire to reduce everything to the most logical and systematic form. The effect of the later Pietism was, however, clearly discernible in the standard of theological education presented in his inaugural, where he urged that theological professors must not be rigid in demanding thorough preparation of recitations by their students. "Too great rigor of recitation would force the student of humbler talents to subtract from the hours of devotion that he may add to those of study. Such intellectual pressure, long continued, would impair the spirituality of his religious exercises." His advice was that if a student were suffering from any "doubts and fears," he should suspend his studies for the time, and "devote whole days

to practical reading and exercises, until he regain a preponderance of spiritual feeling."

His theological standpoint can never be involved in controversy; he was too outspoken in confessing it. Beginning with a more conservative position, he soon publicly protested, from the professor's chair and from the press, not only against the distinctive Lutheran doctrines concerning the sacraments, but against those of original sin and the Person of Christ. In his "Popular Theology," his "Lutheran Manual," and "American Lutheranism Vindicated," he teaches what he regards a modified Lutheranism, which retains the elements of truth found, as he believed, with a number of errors, in the Lutheranism of the Augsburg Confession. In the "Definite Synodical Platform," prepared by him in 1855, he expurgated and changed the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, and, in a preface, states what he regards the five errors of that document.[1]

These, however, were only individual opinions of the most influential professor. No colleague ever indorsed them. The seminary was placed by the General Synod, in 1825, upon the most unequivocal basis of a subscription to the Augsburg Confession.

In this seminary shall be taught, in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures as contained in the Augsburg Confession.

Every professor was required to declare:

I believe the Augsburg Confession and the catechisms of Luther to be a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God.[2]

The interpretation made afterward to justify the teaching that there were errors in the Augsburg Confession,

[1] For a critical estimate of Dr. Schmucker's position, see Schaff, "America, Political, Social, and Religious," pp. 287 sqq.

[2] "Catalogue and Constitution for 1840," p. 10.

was by restricting its correctness to what were regarded the "fundamental" doctrines, and finding the errors on points that were deemed non-fundamental. On this subject there was violent controversy for many years.

It is affirmed, on the one hand, with undoubted correctness, that this affirmation placed the seminary and the General Synod upon higher confessional ground than had been occupied by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania since its departure, in 1792, from its earliest constitution. It was a pledge to a distinctively Lutheran position. Such an affirmation could never have been enforced in the Proposed Lutheran-Reformed seminary which the ministerium had had in mind. It could not have been exacted of those who believed the confession to be in error on those points which divide the Lutherans from the Reformed. In justice, however, to those who might seem to have been acting a false part in making this affirmation while they believed the confession to contain errors, it must be stated, on the other hand, that the full force of the declaration was not so clearly apparent in a period directly following one when, as we have seen, the greatest living theologian of the Lutheran Church in America could distinguish no difference between the Augsburg Confession and the formularies of the Church of England. Since these subjects have been dealt with more critically, they impose new responsibilities.

The influence of Hartwick Seminary, under Drs. Hazelius and Miller, was of an irenic character, and was not widely felt. However warm his sympathy for the Lutheran Church, the writings of the former, and especially his "History of the Christian Church," show the impress of his Moravian training, his careful avoidance of precise doctrinal distinctions, and tendencies which, in the lives of more aggressive pupils, could readily become far more serious

than in one so universally beloved for his mildness and gentleness of character. At Lexington, S. C., Dr. Hazelius is not known to have varied from what he was at Hartwick. Nor, under his successor, Dr. L. Eichelberger, was the Seminary of the South involved in any controversy.

Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, the grandson of Rev. J. Nicholas Kurtz, had not enjoyed a college education, but his superior mental gifts and pulpit power soon gave him eminence. After some years in the pastorate, he had gone to Germany to secure contributions for the Gettysburg Seminary, and, after exciting great interest and enlisting the favor of even the King of Prussia (before whom he preached), the King of Würtemberg, etc., he had become editor of "The Lutheran Observer" in 1833. This he edited with much vigor until 1858. He was the advocate of "New Measures," revival meetings, etc., and the severe antagonist of confessional Lutheranism and liturgical worship in any shape or form, and the powerful auxiliary of the professor at Gettysburg, although the prudence of the latter was doubtless frequently offended by the ardor and violence of his colleague.

At Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Springfield, O., established 1845, Dr. Samuel Sprecher, who became professor in 1849, was in general sympathy with the position of his teacher, Dr. Schmucker, and proved a most eloquent advocate of this modified or "American Lutheranism." In later years he has frankly stated the manner in which he has reached another conclusion, and his readiness to accept the position of the Halle theologians.[1]

With growing classes of students instructed in this new theology, the conservatives in the General Synod were

1 "Lutheran Evangelist," May 1, 1891. Also January 15, 1892: "I can now say, as I could not formerly, that, like Spener, I can for myself accept the symbols of the church without reserve."

comparatively helpless, until the establishment of the "Evangelical Review" at Gettysburg, in 1849, as their organ, in which, under the editorship, first of Dr. W. M. Reynolds and then of Dr. C. P. Krauth, Sr., it became soon manifest that the conservative element was strong and was constantly gaining.

The congregations were rapidly passing from German to English. A ministry was arising entirely cut off from the literature in which the faith of their fathers was maintained and defended. All their authorities, their commentaries, their aids in the study of theology, were those of other churches. They knew little of Lutheran theology except as they learned it from the Calvinistic or American writers. The religious excitements which periodically pervaded the country—returning waves of the influences originating at Halle, but, without the restraints of a confessional balance, running into extremes—soon found in them earnest advocates; and with them entered a different spirit from that of the Lutheran Church.

More harmful than any positively erroneous teaching propounded from the professor's chair or issued from the press, was the lack of cultivation of any decided form of church life. The seminary course was very brief, and the teaching scarcely rose above, if it equaled, the standard of the better catechetical instruction. There was even a tendency to depreciate sacred learning, as relatively unimportant, and to throw all stress upon devotional exercises. The teaching became hortatory instead of doctrinal, and no longer covered the full extent of revelation. There was more success in home missionary work than in building up established congregations and instructing experienced Christians. Young pastors uninstructed in the modes adopted by the Lutheran Church, and sincerely earnest in the endeavor to be faithful, readily adopted the

methods of other churches. The old ways of the fathers were looked upon with suspicion. Where this was avoided, in the uncertainty and wish to compromise, the most deplorable inactivity and stagnation resulted. The peril of compromises on church principles lies in the paralysis of church life, by the endeavor of antagonistic parties to forbear doing aught that might offend those with whom they differ, and thus doing nothing. Where intense conviction enters, it bursts the shackles of compromises, and is fearless in adopting what it regards the most efficient measures to discharge its full duty. A Lutheran Church life can never be nourished except in accordance with the principles of that church. Methodism, Presbyterianism, or Anglicanism within the Lutheran Church soon runs its course. The Lutherans of America, who imagined that the salvation of their church was dependent upon its adoption of the peculiarities of its neighbors, were only temporarily misled. They were yet to awaken to the realization of the rich provision their church contained for the full development of all their spiritual capacities. The more they realized this, the more could they appreciate conceded excellences in other forms of Christianity when exercised within their own peculiar spheres. But however sure it is that the church ultimately regains its lost vantage-ground, the lamentable results of the losses suffered meanwhile by inaction remain. Dr. Hazelius, e.g., deplored greatly the widespread abandonment of family worship, as one of the consequences of the teaching that all prayers except those made extemporaneously are formalism. The layman who found it difficult to offer a free prayer banished the prayer-book from his altar, as though by its use he would do God dishonor; and the next step was that prayers in the household entirely ceased.

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was protected, not by

a clearer confessional position, but partly by the German language and partly by the resources which were open to its pastors by their access to German Lutheran literature. There were also a number of learned and influential members belonging to the synod, of a more decided and conservative tendency, even though some of them had not fully realized the necessity of a much higher confessional obligation than had hitherto been imposed. All was confusion; and it is idle, as is sometimes attempted, to discuss the question as to the degree of error of either body. The question really to be met is, as to the readiness to remedy the evil which originated from defects existing in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania before it separated into different synods, and which had been perpetuated both in the original synod and in all her children. The question, too, was not one pertaining directly to efficiency in the more ordinary duties of the pastorate, but especially with respect to the prerequisites for success in the future development of the entire church, and its relation to the various new issues which, with that development, she was called upon to meet. In other words, how was the position of the founders of the church in America to be regained? Before this period closes we will recur to the later phases of this burning question.

CHAPTER XXII.

A MISSIONARY ERA.

An indirect result of the establishment of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg was the origin of the first Lutheran college, in 1832. When the seminary was started a large number of the students were found deficient in preparation. Accordingly, one of the first class, David Jacobs, a graduate of Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., was asked to open a gymnasium or academy. This he did with two pupils, June 25, 1827. From this beginning came Pennsylvania College. But before the teacher who had begun the work could participate in the opening of the college, he had fallen in November, 1830, at the age of twenty-five, a sacrifice to his zeal and devotion to the cause. His brother, Michael Jacobs, D.D., was connected with the gymnasium and college from 1829 until 1871. Rev. H. L. Baugher, D.D., a graduate of Dickinson, succeeded David Jacobs. The first president was Charles Philip Krauth, D.D , from 1834 to 1850, and the second, Dr. Baugher, from 1850 to 1867. The college drew its students from all over the country, from Canada to South Carolina and Texas. It not only has educated its thousands, but has been the parent of similar institutions, whose presidents and professors received their education in its halls. Besides most powerfully influencing the literary culture of the anglicized portion of the Lutheran Church, it has educated prominent clergymen of other denominations, and has able representatives in

public life. With the professors mentioned, the names of Drs. W. M. Reynolds, M. L. Stoever, and F. A. Muhlenberg should be associated as most important during this period. Through their efforts an English Lutheran literature began to be issued.

Provision for beneficiary education followed. Long before this, the German Society of Philadelphia had aided some candidates for the Lutheran ministry. A fund for the education of poor students grew into a Parent Education Society, established in 1837, which held its meetings during the sessions of the General Synod, and showed continually increasing efficiency. Before this, in 1830, a Sunday-school Union had been formed, of which Rev. C. F. Heyer was the agent, who, during the first year, traveled nearly five thousand miles, preached in three hundred places, and established a large number of Sunday-schools. From twelve to fifteen thousand Sunday-school books and tracts had been sold and distributed.

A home missionary society in connection with the General Synod had been established before 1837. In that year, Rev. C. F. Heyer, one of its six missionaries who had been sent to explore the entire Mississippi Valley and to ascertain all German settlements, reported that he had traveled thousands of miles, and found places for at least fifty missionaries. Meanwhile the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was not inactive. A similar society was connected with it, and in 1836 Rev. Ezra Keller reported extensive explorations through the present West Virginia and Ohio, into Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, laying the foundation for the present churches of those regions, traveling three thousand miles, and preaching eighty times. Between the mission work of the two bodies there was no conflict, or even rivalry.

The foreign mission work began on a very comprehensive

plan. A constitution was adopted and officers elected, in 1837, for a Foreign Missionary Society of the Evangelical German Churches in the United States. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania was represented by delegates, among whom was Rev. Dr. C. W. Schaeffer. Representatives of the Reformed and Moravians were among the officers chosen. Coöperation with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was declared in the constitution to be one of its objects. The efforts to secure the coöperation of the other German churches failed, except some collections in the Reformed Churches. Auxiliary societies were formed in the various synods. The mission of Rev. Dr. Rhenius at Palamcotta, India, received whatever contributions were gathered during the first years.

It had been the policy of the Church Missionary Society of England, organized in 1799, and representing what were afterward known as Low Churchmen, for many years to employ German missionaries educated at Basle or Berlin, perfectly content with their non-episcopal ordination. C. L. E. Rhenius (born 1790) had been one of the most successful of their missionaries, first at Madras, where he translated the Bible into Tamil, and afterward in the Tinnevelly district, at the extreme south of the western coast of India. Establishing Christian villages into which he gathered his native converts, he had under his care over eight thousand souls of native Christians. Founding a seminary and preparing native pastors, in 1832 an irreconcilable difficulty occurred in connection with their ordination, Dr. Rhenius insisting upon a Lutheran ordination as sufficient, while the society for which he had labored, and which continued in all other respects to yield to his judgment, decided that they must be ordained by a bishop of the Church of England. The result was the dismissal of Dr. Rhenius, whose

hold, however, upon the natives was so great that, in compliance with their entreaties, he returned to the field. He made his appeal to the Lutheran churches throughout the world to sustain him. The German Foreign Missionary Society, representing almost exclusively the General Synod, pledged two semi-annual appropriations of one thousand dollars each for his support. The Society of the South Carolina Synod sent him a press. The Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania appropriated and sent five hundred dollars. But before the relief became very effectual, the veteran missionary had departed this life, leaving a memory prized alike by his brethren, who appreciated his devotion to his Lutheran principles, and by his former associates, who regretted them as marking a strange infatuation in the course of an otherwise most excellent man. After his death his associates complied with the requirements of the Church Missionary Society.

The work of Rhenius had enlisted much attention both in this country and in Germany, even before his separation from his English connections. The East India "Reports," published regularly at Halle, from the sending out of the earlier missionaries from that institution, contain extensive selections from his published reports. In the chapter concerning the Salzburgers we have learned how the Halle pastors in America prized these journals and read them to their congregations and commented upon them. The copies sent to old Zion's Church, Philadelphia, some of them, with manuscript papers lying beneath their leaves over a century old, are now at Mount Airy. They extend from Ziegenbalg to Rhenius. Father Heyer, the pioneer foreign missionary of the Lutheran Church in America, was a child of Zion's Church, and the older reports or the later ones, as they regularly appeared, could not have escaped him, during his youth as a Sunday-school

teacher and a member of the Mosheim Society, and his subsequent years as a theological student of the pastors of the congregation. Schwartz, the greatest of Lutheran missionaries in India, had left Halle only nine years before Helmuth, Heyer's preceptor, entered. Whether the zeal of Heyer as a home missionary was kept burning by the latest reports from Rhenius, as published in the same journals years after he had been laboring in what was then the West, we do not know. But his clear acquaintance with the situation and prompt determination indicate that it was strongly probable.

In 1841 he was appointed by the Mission Society of the General Synod missionary to India; but when the arrangement was made that he should go under the general supervision of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he declined, and offered his services to the Missionary Society of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania in a letter beginning:

BALTIMORE, June 3, 1841.

DEAR BROTHER: I should prefer going into the heathen world under the direction of an Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, rather than be dependent upon other Christian denominations; therefore, I take the liberty of addressing myself to your missionary society. Should the brethren feel disposed to send me as a missionary among the heathens, then the following conditions are to be borne in mind.

The committee to which this letter was referred, with the dilatoriness and timidity that so often have characterized the mother-synod, reported their pleasure in perceiving "how much Brother Heyer is devoted to the cause of Christ," but regretted that "we have not sufficient means at hand to form and maintain a heathen mission"! But Rev. Dr. C. F. Demme was equal to the occasion, and, seconded by Rev. Dr. J. C. Baker (under whose preaching, thirty years before, Heyer had decided to enter the ministry), he silenced all opposition, and raised the synod to a

higher standard by moving the resolutions, which were unanimously carried, that began American Lutheran foreign missions in India.

These resolutions of June 7, 1841, were:

Resolved, That, in reliance on divine Providence, we commence a heathen mission.

Resolved, That we receive Brother Heyer as missionary in our service; however, his offer to invest one thousand dollars of his own property, the interest of which to aid in the support of the mission so long as he is connected with it, be not accepted.

Resolved, That the executive committee be solicited immediately to enter into correspondence with Brother Heyer, in order to carry the above resolutions into effect.

Resolved, That we recommend to the executive committee Hindostan as a missionary field, for their consideration.

Resolved, That the treasurer, the Rev. Dr. Becker, be requested to address a circular to the different missionary societies of our church, informing them of the above resolutions, and invite them to coöperate with us.

Rev. Charles Frederick Heyer was no longer a young man, and to many it seemed a mistake to send one of his years into an untried field, where he would have to wrestle with the difficulties of a new language, and be exposed to severe physical hardships. But his nearly a quarter of a century's experience as a traveling home missionary had peculiarly fitted him for the work; and to the end of life, all the energy and enthusiasm of youth carried him forward in incessant labor for the cause of his Master. Born in Helmstädt, Germany, July 10, 1793, he came to America in 1807, studied theology under his pastors, Drs. Helmuth and F. D. Schaeffer in Philadelphia, and at Göttingen, was licensed as a candidate in 1817, and immediately began his labors as a home missionary, with Meadville, Pa., as his center.

Sunday, October 3, 1841, was a notable day in the history of the Lutheran Church, when fourteen or fifteen pastors of the ministeriums of Pennsylvania and New York,

and the synods of Ohio, Maryland and Virginia, with a large audience, gathered in St. Paul's (German) Church, Philadelphia, and, after listening to a sermon from the new missionary, on Jonah ii. 3, "Arise, go unto Nineveh," etc., heard the charge addressed him by Rev. Dr. Baker. He sailed from Boston, October 14, in company with some missionaries of the American Board. From the ship he sent his farewell greetings to his friends (he had left his children in America).

All ready to begin our voyage. I feel calm and cheerful, having taken this step after serious and prayerful consideration. The smiles of friends have cheered and the approbation of the churches encouraged me thus far. But I am well aware that, ere long, amidst a tribe of men whose language will be strange to me, I shall behold those smiles only in remembrance, and hear the voice of encouragement only in dying whispers across the ocean, and then nothing but the grace of God, nothing but a thorough conviction of being in the path of duty, nothing but the approving smile of Heaven, can keep me from despondency.[1]

Beyond the fact that the Telugus in India offered a desirable field of labor, and the instructions that he should see if such reports which came from the American Board were correct, he had little to guide him. He had expected to be determined largely by the instructions of Rhenius, of whose death he did not hear until he reached India. In September, 1842, he reported that he had located at Guntur, a city two hundred and thirty miles north of Madras, and thirty-five miles from the western coast. He had reached there July 31, 1842, and been encouraged to locate by a Mr. Stokes, an official of the English government. In July, 1844, Rev. Walter Gunn and wife, sent by the Missionary Society of the General Synod, were welcomed by Father Heyer, as reinforcements in the work he had begun. Before the close of 1844 seventeen converts had been baptized as the first-

[1] "The Lutheran Observer," October 29, 1841.

fruits of the mission. An arrangement was made, during a visit of the pioneer missionary to America, in 1846, whereby the General Synod assumed the entire care of the mission, while the Ministerium of Pennsylvania provided for the support of Dr. Heyer. In assuming this work the executive committee of the General Synod's society pay a most graceful tribute to those who had made the beginning:

> We feel constrained to pay a passing tribute to the Missionary Society of the Pennsylvania Synod, for their devoted zeal and activity in the missionary work. To that society we owe the successful establishment of the mission at Guntur. To them belongs the proud distinction of having sent the first Lutheran missionary from the United States. And right and proper was it that the oldest Lutheran synod in this country, the mother of us all, should take the lead in this noble enterprise. It was in strict unison with the spirit which characterized the founders of that venerable body in leaving their fatherland to establish a branch of our Lutheran Zion in the then wilderness of America. It was providential, whether we consider the man sent, those who sent him, the time, or the section of country in which he commenced his labors.[1]

On his return to India in 1849 Dr. Heyer founded another mission center in the Telugu country, in the Palnaud. In 1850 the neighboring Rajahmundry field, with its two missionaries, Groenning and Heise, was transferred to the care of the American Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society by the North German Society, upon the condition that it was forever to remain a Lutheran mission. In 1857 Dr. Heyer wrote: "The sun of my life is sinking, the day is waning, and the shades of evening are rapidly approaching," and left India, as he supposed forever, little anticipating that twelve years later he would return to reorganize a portion of the field that sorely needed his attention. The missionaries of the General Synod associated with him, besides those mentioned, were Cutter and Snyder, and, for a brief season, Martz. Gunn was an early sacrifice

[1] "Minutes of General Synod for 1848," p. 55.

to the work, having died July 5, 1851, as Snyder, the nephew of Dr. G. B. Miller of Hartwick, was a later victim to the climate. The immediate results of this period were small, compared with the dimensions that the field has since assumed. They had to lay the foundations on which a second generation of missionaries have built. Heyer's temperament would never have allowed him to remain long at one post, or to have been content with the slow and gradual work of those who build. With truly apostolic spirit, he was ever pressing into territory where Christ was not known, or his worship neglected, and opening the doors for others to enter. His report to the General Synod of his exploration of the Mississippi Valley, that he had found places for fifty preachers, might well be applied to his foreign missionary work. It was his calling to find places and prepare the way for those who were to do the thorough, methodical, and slow work, whereby ultimate success was to be attained. When he withdrew in 1857, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, then in the General Synod, appointed no successor. Revs. E. Unangst, D.D., and A. Long (died 1866) had been sent to India by the General Synod in 1857.

As might have been anticipated, the attention paid to the beginning of the foreign mission work prevented any great extension of home mission work during the decade 1840–50. It was not until 1845 that the Home Missionary Society of the General Synod was organized, and its results for a long time were feeble. Nor does the Ministerium of Pennsylvania show much life in this direction until in the fifties; then we find some aid given a mission among the North American Indians in Michigan, and a number of mission-points in Canada and Wisconsin sustained or aided, as was the case shortly afterward in Minnesota. The synods that bear those names are in part the fruit of

that activity. The New York Ministerium had a great responsibility thrown upon it by the enormous German immigration to that State, and the development of its western counties, and met it well, as the mother-churches of Buffalo, Rochester, Utica, Syracuse, Lyons, etc., founded during those years, show. Its missionary boundaries extended to the north into Canada. In New Jersey the churches at Newark and Elizabeth were founded. In Boston it made an unsuccessful effort to establish both an English and a German church.

The Ohio Synod was all missionary territory. With such pioneer missionaries as John Stauch and Paul Henkel were associated the two Stecks (J. M. and M. J.), father and son, at Greensburg, Pa., and Lancaster, O. The names of Andrew and Charles Henkel, Manning, Wagenhals, Greenwald, Mechling, Spielman, Roof, soon appear. In the years 1837 and 1838, twenty pastors in this synod served no less than one hundred and ninety-five congregations. A pastoral charge extended over several counties, and from twenty to twenty-five miles had to be traveled in filling the necessary appointments every Sunday. This was demanded by the great scarcity of ministers. With all this labor, the support was the most meager. A couple of hundred dollars, without a parsonage, was the frequent income of the largest parishes. A log hut, with a single unplastered room, furnished with a table and a few chairs or benches, together with a place of resting for the night, was often the only home to which the pastor, wearied from his exhausting journeys, returned. One[1] of those earnest men who has survived to write the history of those days, and upon whom we rely for these facts, adds:

> Even in 1840, during my canvass as agent through a portion of the synodical territory, I enjoyed the fraternal hospitality of three pastors educated in

[1] Rev. C. Spielman, in his "History."

Germany, who, with their families, lived in such log huts. Nevertheless they were entirely contented and satisfied in them; a proof that great earthly possessions and outward display are not necessary for the true welfare of men. Children of God, united by true faith to their Lord, and having his peace in their hearts, live more happily in their poor and plain huts than the children of this world in their transitory glory and earthly magnificence.[1]

Laboring with their own hands during the week, even weaving the cloth from which their garments were made, and manufacturing their sugar and syrup from the maple forests which surrounded them, any progress in scholarly attainments could not have been expected. Their sermons doubtless showed the effects of their distractions, and their congregations, like many in Pennsylvania, were not thoroughly developed. But where there was the willingness to make these sacrifices, the response to the appeals to build the institutions at Columbus was more prompt than among those who were strangers to such self-denial.

The growing demands for more aggressive home missionary work broke through synodical boundaries. The older synods, not ready to respond promptly to the call of the hour and to make sufficient provision to engage the zeal of their younger members, were left behind, while many of their more active young men organized new synods. This was rendered possible by the increasing number of young ministers, furnished by the institutions at Hartwick and Gettysburg, who were able to preach with acceptance in the English language and to adapt themselves to the changing circumstances of American life. That there was much doctrinal indefiniteness, and the lack of a clear conception of the mission and work of the Lutheran Church, and a frequent desire to introduce methods alien to its spirit, must be freely conceded; and in their zeal there were occasional attacks upon what every

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

true and intelligent Lutheran should hold dear as his own life, as the columns of the sole church paper published within the General Synod at that time will clearly show. But if, on the other hand, the more conservative portion of the church had shown more of that life which began to characterize it toward the close of this period, many of the conflicts would have been avoided. When the pastoral zeal of Falckner and Boltzius and the missionary zeal of Muhlenberg and Heyer were absent from the great body of those who professed to hold the same faith, or where this zeal could not appreciate the growing necessities of the change of language and nationality, methods which sometimes might lie open to the charge of being revolutionary might be anticipated. Even the so-called "new measures" gained an influence among Lutherans only where what might be called "old measures" had not been energetically administered. But where such breaks had been once made, the doors were open to all sorts of individualism, that could be justified by no apology, and that delighted in proclaiming their radicalism, until the new order was driven more and more back into the channels of the old faith and life of the church. We may well cover with the mantle of charity most of the doctrinal discussions and synodical deliverances of those days. In order to understand them much must be read between the lines. Nowhere is the old adage more applicable: *Quum duo idem dicunt, non est idem.*

In New York the break began in 1831, by the formation of the Hartwick Synod, which entered the General Synod at its next convention. But in 1837 the Hartwick Synod was not advanced enough for a few of its members, who founded the Franckean Synod, which pressed "new measures" to the extreme, laid little stress on an educated ministry, and in its "Declaration of Faith," abandoning

the Augsburg Confession, taught, according to the decision of a vice-chancellor of the State of New York, an entirely different doctrine on "three essential particulars." This may be noted as the perpetuation of the doctrinal tendency that had been strong in the New York Ministerium, and previously found expression in Dr. Quitman's Catechism. It can in no way be regarded as having anything whatever to do with influences that had entered from either Hartwick or Gettysburg. It had been imported from Göttingen, and had been taught in the State of New York long before a General Synod was thought of. The decision of Vice-Chancellor Sandford says of the Franckean Declaration:

> 1. It does not maintain and declare the doctrine of the Trinity, or that the three Persons constituting the Godhead are equal in power and glory; or even that there are three Persons constituting the Deity. 2. It does not declare or admit the divinity of Jesus Christ, or his equality with God the Father. 3. It does not teach or declare that man will be condemned to punishment in a future state, because of original or inherited sin, unless it be repented of; or that it condemneth all who are not born again of water and the Holy Ghost.[1]

The same process broke off several small synods from the Joint Synod of Ohio, the first in 1840, which soon found their way into the General Synod, and grew rapidly after they had a literary and theological center in Wittenberg College and Seminary, Springfield, O., founded in 1845, and presided over successively by Drs. Ezra Keller and S. Sprecher. These institutions were, during this period, the most advanced in their advocacy and develop-

[1] Sandford's "Chancery Reports," vol. i.; also in separate pamphlet: "State of New York in Chancery. Philip Knisken and others *v.* Philip Weeting, the Evangelical Lutheran Churches of St. John's at Durlach and St. Peter's at New Rhinebeck and Sharon and others. Opinion of the Hon. Lewis H. Sandford, Assistant Vice-Chancellor, July 17, 1844," etc., etc. New York, printed by William Osborn, 88 William Street, 1845, pp. 72.

ment of the so-called American Lutheranism, since there were strong influences at Gettysburg modifying and counteracting the teaching of its most prominent theologian.

In 1842 ten pastors, under the leadership of Dr. W. M. Reynolds, then a professor in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, left the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and formed the East Pennsylvania Synod, covering precisely the same territory.

In 1845 a number of pastors in Pennsylvania, west of the Alleghany Mountains, belonging to several synods, being on territory claimed both by the synods of Ohio and of West Pennsylvania, in order to insure harmonious coöperation formed the Pittsburg Synod, which, on territory settled mostly by the Scotch-Irish, carried on with great success and spirit numerous missions, and extended its missionary activity as far west as the Mississippi Valley. It acted upon the principle that wherever there were those uncared for the synod had the right to enter, when the proper call came. It was especially active in Canada, and even as far south as Texas. The synod was composed largely of young men, and its missionary operations were guided chiefly by the unwearied activity of Dr. W. A. Passavant, whose small journal "The Missionary" for a number of years enlisted and maintained great interest in these undertakings. The great extension of the missionary operations of the synod required the most thorough organization of its resources. A missionary president had the immediate care of the missions. The system of synodical apportionments, now widely used, was first introduced by the Pittsburg Synod. Within this synod Dr. Passavant, with the coöperation of Revs. G. Bassler and H. Reck and others, had laid the foundations for institutions of mercy within the Lutheran Church by the establishment of the Orphans' Home, first at Pittsburg, afterward

removed to Zelienople and Rochester, Pa., an infirmary at Pittsburg, and a Deaconesses' Institute at the same place. These institutions were only the beginning of similar ones with which he was to be more or less directly connected in the succeeding period, at Boston, Mass., Mount Vernon, N. Y., Jacksonville and Chicago, Ill., and Milwaukee, Wis. The deaconesses for his institute came from Kaiserswerth in 1849, and were accompanied by Pastor Fliedner. This institution soon found one to emulate it in that projected by Dr. W. A. Muhlenberg in New York in 1845, but not formally organized until 1852. Both founders incurred much distrust and suspicion of a secret inclination toward Romanism by the revival of this ancient institution of the Christian Church, which has now its advocates in almost all the Protestant denominations. The church was not ready for the work when introduced by Dr. Passavant; but the few deaconesses of his institute did most efficient service, especially in cholera epidemics, during the Civil War, and in starting and administering the numerous institutions which he was called to undertake.

The Pittsburg Synod, as the result of a missionary tour to Canada in 1849, by the Rev. G. Bassler, had gathered the scattered congregations into a conference of that synod in 1853, which in 1861 became a separate synod. Prior to this the long neglected people had almost despaired of relief. No better evidence of their extremity and their earnestness could be afforded than the journey of the layman, Adam Keffer, from Vaughn to the meeting of the Pittsburg Synod, to implore its aid in securing a pastor. A large portion of the five hundred miles he traveled on foot.

Before considering new elements that enter here into the history of the Lutheran Church in America and had much to do with what transpired during the later years of

this period, we take a brief survey of the more prominent men and the literature that appear up to this time.

The mother-church in Philadelphia had as its first pastor, from the withdrawal of Dr. Helmuth in 1820 until 1834, Dr. F. D. Schaeffer (died 1836), for a number of years senior of the ministerium. The venerable Dr. J. D. Kurtz, son of Rev. J. Nicholas Kurtz, pastor until 1833 in Baltimore, died in 1856, in his ninety-third year, participating in occasional ministerial work until three years previously. Dr. J. G. Lochman passed away at Harrisburg while the bells were tolling for the deaths of Adams and Jefferson, in 1826, having reached only the prime of his ministerial career. Dr. J. G. Schmucker, active in so many of the enterprises of his day, died at an advanced age, in 1854.

Dr. C. F. Demme (1795–1863), the son of an eminent general-superintendent of Altenburg, first the assistant and afterward the successor of his father-in-law, Dr. Schaeffer, at Philadelphia, was one of the most eloquent preachers and distinguished scholars in the Lutheran Church of this country, and, during his prime, the most influential member of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The official publications of the ministerium during his membership, and particularly the liturgy of 1842 and the German hymn-book of 1849, were prepared chiefly under his editorship. He was the theological preceptor of a number of candidates for the ministry.

Of the pastors of Trinity Church, Reading, Dr. H. A. Muhlenberg became member of Congress, minister of the United States to Austria, and died in 1844, while the democratic candidate for the governorship of Pennsylvania. Dr. Jacob Miller (1788–1850), his successor, was noted for the strictness of his adherence to the Lutheran faith, among many who were far less rigid. Dr. J. W. Richards

(1803–51), a grandson of Muhlenberg, was a president of the ministerium, and contributed much toward exciting interest in its earlier history. Dr. J. C. Baker, of Lancaster, was an earnest pastor, and a man of mild disposition, warm sympathies, and wide outlook. Rev. B. Keller was an indefatigable agent, who has his monument in the education work and Publication House, now of the General Synod, and was one of the founders of the Philadelphia Seminary. Rev. William Beates, a pupil of Helmuth, was senior of the ministerium from 1836 until his death, in 1867.

Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, youngest son of Dr. F. D. Schaeffer, was pastor in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New York, and Ohio, and enjoyed the distinction of having been professor in three theological seminaries, viz., that of the Ohio Synod at Columbus (1840–43), that of the General Synod at Gettysburg, Pa. (1856–64), and that of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia (1864–79). He was one of the most prolific writers among his brethren, being a frequent contributor of most scholarly articles to the "Lutheran Intelligencer," "Evangelical Review," the "Bibliotheca Sacra," etc. His translation of Kurtz's "Sacred History" remains still a text-book in many theological seminaries; that of Lechler on Acts, belonging to the Lange series of commentaries, was published in the next period. Dr. Schaeffer was a most careful and accurate teacher, and exerted his chief influence from the professor's chair. He was the chief advocate of a higher confessional position in his synod, and, although at first meeting with a temporary check, was at last enabled to see his propositions adopted.

Dr. J. G. Morris, still preaching, lecturing, and writing with vigor, was already, early in the decade between 1830 and 1840, one of the most active and prominent of our

ministers in all good works. He had studied theology at Princeton, and had been a member of the first class with which the seminary at Gettysburg had opened in 1826; in 1829 a delegate to the General Synod and chairman of the first committee that was announced; in 1831 the founder of "The Lutheran Observer"; in 1832 a member of the first board of trustees of Pennsylvania College; he has been actively identified with almost all the boards of the General Synod, and twice its president. He has published many books, both Lutheran and scientific. One of his chief distinctions has been the interest that he has quickened, by a number of volumes and numerous articles in the church papers, in everything pertaining to the life of Luther. Although having completed his ninetieth year, he is president of the Maryland Historical Society, and is engaged in establishing a society of American Lutheran Church History.

An older contemporary of Dr. Morris in the Maryland Synod, and his predecessor in Lutheran journalism, was Dr. D. F. Schaeffer, of Frederick, Md. (1787–1837), another son of Dr. F. D. Schaeffer, who, amidst exhausting pastoral duties, found time to be a faithful theological instructor, was one of the most active friends of the General Synod, its secretary from 1820 to 1831, its president from 1831 to 1835, and the editor of the admirably conducted "Lutheran Intelligencer" from 1826 to 1831.

Farther south, Dr. Eichelberger at Winchester, Va. (which he left for the Theological Seminary at Lexington, S. C., in 1853), and Dr. J. Bachman of Charleston, S. C., renowned as the associate of the Audubons in ornithology and mammalogy, were the most prominent.

In New York, Drs. Pohlmann of Albany, G. B. Miller of Hartwick Seminary, and G. A. Lintner, a graduate of Union, editor of the "Lutheran Magazine," are to be

mentioned among the English-speaking, and Dr. C. F. E. Stohlmann among the German, pastors. Dr. H. I. Schmidt, after leaving Gettysburg, Pa., was a learned professor of Columbia College, New York.

The Theological Seminary of the Ohio Synod was opened at Canton, O., October 15, 1830, because the professor who was elected by the synod was at that time pastor of five congregations in the neighborhood.[1] The next year it was removed to Columbus, O. Professor W. Schmidt died at the age of thirty-six, in 1839. During the professorship of Dr. Schaeffer, in 1843, two delegates were sent to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in order to secure its coöperation in the sustaining of the seminary and the supply of students. Rev. W. F. Lehman, who became theological professor in 1847 and served until near his death, in 1880, was a child of the mother congregation in Philadelphia. Capital University, the collegiate department growing out of the necessities of this seminary, was founded in 1850. Dr. W. M. Reynolds was called from Gettysburg to the presidency. Revs. C. Spielman and Professor Lehman were among those who followed him. "The Lutheran Standard" was established in 1842, under the editorship of Dr. Greenwald for two years, who was again its editor from 1851 to 1854. The names of Spielman, Lehman, and Worley occur among the others who edited it in the interests of a decided confessional Lutheranism during this period.

Of the younger men, besides those elsewhere referred to, may be mentioned Dr. A. H. Lochman, pastor at York; Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, pastor at Harrisburg and Germantown; Dr. W. J. Mann, the associate of Dr. Demme; Dr. C. F. Welden; Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer, a diligent liturgical scholar; Dr. J. A. Seiss, pastor at Cumberland

[1] Spielman's "Geschichte," p. 36.

and Baltimore, Md., who in 1858 succeeded Dr. P. F. Mayer, in Philadelphia; Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., and his friend Dr. B. M. Schmucker, both beginning their ministry in the South and afterward laboring together in the synod which ordained their fathers; Dr. S. W. Harkey, who, after a successful pastorate at Frederick, Md., became president of Illinois State University; Dr. Charles A. Hay, who in 1844 became professor of Hebrew at Gettysburg, and from 1848 to 1865 was an active pastor; Drs. F. R. Anspach, G. Diehl, E. W. Hutter, and F. W. Conrad, the future editors of the "Observer"; Dr. T. Stork, who left Philadelphia to develop the educational resources in his native South, and returned at the beginning of the war to Baltimore; Dr. D. F. Bittle, the founder of Roanoke, as his brother, Dr. D. H. Bittle, was the founder of North Carolina College; Dr. J. A. Brown, pastor at Reading and professor in South Carolina, of Quaker parentage, who had come into prominence by an attack of great vigor upon the theology of his predecessor at Gettysburg; Dr. G. F. Krotel, pastor in Lebanon and Lancaster, almost in his youth one of the best known members of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The Tennessee Synod was known through the Henkels and Stierwalds and Foxes. In the Joint Synod of Ohio the name of Dr. Matthias Loy is associated with nearly every publication of value that has been issued during the last third of a century, but his remarkable activity was just beginning as this period closes. To enter into the same critical examination of the literature as has been done in preceding periods is manifestly impossible; the nearer we reach the present, the less we can enter into details and the more we must confine ourselves to tracing tendencies and stating principles the explanation of which will be found in the history that has preceded.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONFESSIONAL REACTION.

About the middle of this period new elements entered which greatly influenced the subsequent development.

The circumstances connected with the formation of the Tennessee Synod, by a break from the North Carolina Synod, have been the subject of controversy. When the case is fully reviewed, beneath the personal motives which may have contributed to the result those connected with an important doctrinal divergence must be conceded. Paul Henkel, the pioneer missionary of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and one of the founders of both the North Carolina and Ohio synods, and his four sons, were men of great force of character and depth of personal convictions. Without much learning of the schools, they were persevering students. The extremes to which measures were pressed in the South against which their traditional Lutheran spirit rebelled, drove them to the study of the old standards of the Lutheran Church, its confessions of faith, and the writings of Luther. They were as fearless and outspoken as they became firm in their conviction that the Lutheran Church in America had drifted from its moorings. Many of their attempts may be criticised as ill-advised, as also their earlier literature falls beneath the tests of even a moderate standard of excellence. But time has vindicated their sincerity, earnestness, and the correctness of their judgment on not a few points upon which they were greeted with opposition and ridicule. They

were, in the twenties, the most vigorous assailants of both the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the General Synod. The formal questions addressed to the former, challenging its Lutheranism, were not deemed worthy of an answer. The constitution of the General Synod it published with a commentary, not altogether fair and yet not altogether wrong. It left its permanent monument in the English translation of the "Book of Concord." This work was due largely to the energy of S. G. Henkel, M.D., a physician and grandson of Paul Henkel. The risk was great, and the mode he undertook to publish the book from his own press was most heroic. The translators were three members of the Henkel family, and Revs. J. Stirewalt, H. Wetzel, and J. R. Moser. The first edition, published in 1851, was followed by a second in 1854, revised by Dr. Krauth, Sr., of Gettysburg, Professor Lehman and Dr. Reynolds, of Columbus, Dr. J. G. Morris, and C. F. Schaeffer. Nor was it the only service of the kind which was rendered the church. A volume of selections from Luther on the sacraments served to show plainly what was the teaching of the great reformer. Without any great display of missionary activity, the Tennessee Synod grew steadily in the States of North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee. In 1860 the ministers in Tennessee formed the Holston Synod, and since then the Tennessee Synod has no pastors or congregations in the State of that name.

In Germany the effort made in 1817 by King Frederick William III. to unite "the two slightly divergent confessions," the Lutheran and the Reformed, met with a far different result from what had been anticipated. The process seemed simple enough. The Reformed were thought to have universally abandoned the doctrine of absolute predestination, and the Lutherans that of the

real presence. "But," as a theologian of the Union, Hagenbach, remarks, "it is plain that a union which merely cancels differences, and destroys one zero by another, is neither real nor satisfactory."[1] It only served to bring out into still greater prominence the confessional antithesis, when the attempt was made in Prussia to furnish the churches with a uniform liturgy. It proved to be too positive for the adherents of the theology of Illuminism, too Lutheran for the Reformed, and too Reformed for the Lutherans. It set earnest minds to thinking, drove men to the study of the sources of the confessional divergence, which had largely been forgotten, and revived the lines of demarkation that had been gradually fading. Strange to say, "even the same peacemakers who were called to give their aid to the Union, such as Schleiermacher, started the discussion of these differences."[2] After long delays, it was not until 1830 that the liturgical revision had reached such shape that it could be in any way enforced.

Among decided Lutherans it met with a twofold reception. Some refused absolutely to recognize the Union, formed separate congregations, and carried on a most active controversy against what they believed to be a most gross form of ecclesiastical tyranny. Others, remaining in the Union, did not fail to continue to utter a most decided protest, and, by learned publications, to give testimony to their Lutheran faith.

Among the Separatists, or "Old Lutherans," as they were called, were some who ultimately came to this country because of their fidelity to their confession. Rev. Johannes A. A. Grabau, pastor of St. Andrew's Church,

[1] "History of the Christian Church in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," vol. ii., p. 350.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 351.

Erfurt (born 1804, died 1879), a graduate of Halle, made his opposition so prominent that he was deposed from office and imprisoned for a year. Emigration being finally determined upon, he sailed, with one thousand adherents, from Hamburg, in July, 1839. The most of the colony settled in Buffalo, N. Y., and its neighborhood, where four churches under his care sprung up, and an institution (Martin Luther College) began to train candidates for the ministry. From these foundations there was formed in 1845 the Buffalo Synod, or "Synod of Exiles from the Lutheran Church of Prussia." It consisted, in the beginning, of four pastors and eighteen lay delegates. It grew little externally, but has retained a large portion of the descendants of the immigration. Its strength was for a long time largely spent in defending itself against the untiring polemics of the Missouri Synod, with which it differed on the doctrines of the church and the ministry and ordination, and assumed what the latter synod regarded a hierarchical position.

In the beginning of the year (1839) that the founders of the Buffalo Synod reached their future home from the Atlantic coast, a far stronger accession to the Lutheran Church entered "the West," from the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi River. In Saxony the Lutheran reaction had found its most zealous advocate in Martin Stephan (born 1777), who combined the spirit of an intense Pietism with the most rigid adherence to the orthodoxy of the Lutheran Confessions. As pastor of St. John's Church, Dresden, his sermons, which were chiefly calls to repentance, drew large audiences and created deep interest. He supplemented his public services by private devotional exercises and "conventicles," prolonged until late in the night. His advice was sought by large numbers concerned about their personal religious life. Ham-

pered by his ecclesiastical connections, he consulted Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, when in Germany to collect for the Gettysburg Seminary, concerning the planting of a Lutheran colony in America, and, when the magistrates were exercising unusual supervision over his meetings, concerning which some suspicions of wrong were being entertained, he took measures to carry out his plans. With his unusual power over men, a band of six clergymen and eight hundred souls were collected, who were ready from religious motives to accompany him. Five vessels sailed; the first, the "Amalia," was never heard from; the rest reached New Orleans at the beginning of January, 1839. It was difficult for the spell which their leader held over them to be broken. Even on board the vessels that carried them across the ocean, they signed a declaration of absolute submission to his authority. But the rumors of his secret sins at last were fully confirmed. The preacher who had awakened so many to a sense of sin was found to have become, in his old age, a deceiver. Deposed and excommunicated, he was sent away from his people, to pass his last days in obscurity.

Three of the four pastors in the company were closely related, viz., the brothers O. H. and C. F. W. Walther, and their brother-in-law, E. G. W. Keyl. The fourth was Rev. G. H. Löber. Some of the immigrants settled in St. Louis, where the elder of the brothers Walther became pastor. The larger portion found a home in Perry County, Mo., divided among several parishes, served by the three remaining pastors. Christ Church (Protestant Episcopal) of St. Louis gave Pastor O. H. Walther's congregation the use of the basement of their building, for a merely nominal rent, for three years' service, and this courteous act has never been forgotten by the large mother-church of the Missouri Synod, which was thus cared for in the

days of its poverty. The elder Walther died in 1841, and was succeeded by his brother, whose life is so closely connected with that of the powerful synod which he organized, and which was the expression of his own spirit, that even the details of his private biography belong to the history of the church. Muhlenberg and Walther are the most prominent figures in the history of the Lutheran Church in America up to this time.

Walther was by no means a spiritual child of Stephan, completely as, at one time, he was beneath the influence of the latter. He went to Stephan for advice in an advanced stage of his spiritual struggles. The son, grandson, and great-grandson of pastors, he had already become a university student before he possessed a Bible, when he purchased one with his last penny, not knowing whence the necessities of life would be supplied. Up to that time he acknowledges his great want of acquaintance with the most elementary Scriptural truths. Rationalism dominated everywhere. His purpose to study for the ministry had been formed by reading Schubert's "Life and Work of Oberlin." At the University of Leipzig Walther became one of a band of students who repeated over again the experience of the students at Cambridge in the sixteenth century in their study of the Word of God, and suggest the Wesleys of the eighteenth century and the Tractarians of the nineteenth century at Oxford. They met for prayer, the reading of Scripture, and the discussion of practical religious questions. They attended also a *Collegium Philobiblicum* held by Professor Lindner, for the spiritual edification of students. They soon became accustomed to the terms of "Mystics," "Pietists," "obscurantists," "hypocrites," "fanatics," with which their fellow-students reviled them. While in the beginning they thought nothing of confessional distinctions, as they

advanced in knowledge and in depth of religious experience they could not refrain from comparing their religious convictions with the confessions of the churches, and inquiring where they belonged, whether to the Lutheran, or the Reformed, or the United Church. The writings of Arndt, Francke, Bogatsky, Spener, Rambach, Fresenius, etc., were diligently read. A legalistic element colored their entire conception of religion. Walther especially passed through a period of great spiritual anguish, full of doubts and conflicts, and in danger of breaking down physically under the strain, until a letter of Stephan pointed him to the sure source of peace and joy in Christ. Disabled from university work, and confined to the parsonage of his father by a serious pulmonary trouble, he read with avidity Luther's works found in his father's library, and thus laid the foundation for theological attainments which the learned faculties of the university could not supply. Following the custom of candidates in Germany, he taught for some years before taking charge of a congregation, during which time his theological position was more thoroughly matured. He was ordained and became pastor at Bräunsdorf, Saxony, in January, 1837.

Soon the pastorate involved him in new conflicts. What was the earnest young pastor to do when he encountered on every hand the marks of the spiritual desolation from which he had just escaped? How could he use a rationalistic liturgy, a rationalistic hymn-book, and rationalistic school-books? It was not in his power or the power of the congregation to change them. The superintendent upon whom rested the responsibility was also a rationalist. His own father had little sympathy with his son's zeal. What was he to do as a preacher? Was it not his duty with all plainness and directness to rebuke

sin? And yet what heed should be given to the censures of those placed above him, protesting against such attacks upon his congregation? Saxony was indeed exempt from the Unionistic oppression of Prussia; the old oath to all the Lutheran Confessions was still extant; but to young Walther this was a mere comedy, with liturgy and hymn-book teaching another doctrine, and the church authorities conniving at all efforts to supplant what was most vital in the confessions. With great joy, therefore, he welcomed Stephan's invitation to aid in the establishing of an ideal church in America, in which an escape would be made from the compromising relations in which he had found himself entangled.

No time was lost after the arrival in preparing for the future development of the church. In the summer of 1839 a circular was issued announcing that a gymnasium would be opened on October 1st in Perry County, Mo., giving full instruction in all branches preparatory to the German university course. The younger Walther was at the head of the faculty, and associated with him were three candidates, Fürbringer, Brohm, and Bünger, who had belonged to the circle of students at Leipzig with whom Walther had prayed and struggled into the light. What difference did it make that the building was a primitive log-house with only three or four windows and a door, as long as the institution was furnished with such a faculty? They at once found pupils among the immigrants, whose subsequent career proved the justice of their course. It was the beginning of the great institutions of Missouri Synod, at Fort Wayne, Ind., St. Louis, Mo., Springfield and Addison, Ill., which have sent their hundreds, if not thousands, of ministers throughout our whole country, with scarcely a State in the Union where they have not been active. The young professors were

unconcerned about their support; they labored on in the confidence that if the Lord had a work to be done, and he had called them to it, they would be amply provided for. Can any one doubt what would have been the fate of these immigrants if they had not drawn their pastors from their own people, and had been content to rely upon Germany to supply the constantly expanding necessities of their work? We need only contrast the history of this development with that of the Dutch and Swedish churches of our first period, and even with that of the other German churches up to a comparatively recent time, to learn the lesson that church progress in America is largely conditioned upon the supply of the pastorates of our churches by young men selected from our own congregations, and trained for this work in our own institutions, however humble and primitive those institutions may be.

New responsibilities meeting them with the deposition of their leader, awakened new conflicts. They had to justify their course not only before the world and their people, but before their own consciences. Was not the emigration a sin? Were they warranted, without a clearer indication of Providence, in abandoning the places where they had been put, by God's call, in Germany? Were they actually ministers, properly called and properly administering the Word and sacraments to their congregations? Should not those who had come against God's will, and with duties still to be fulfilled in Germany, return, and be released from their previous obligations in a legal way, before they could expect God's blessing upon their labors in the New World? Such were the questions they discussed with one another, and deeply pondered in their hearts. A most tender conscience did not cease to harass Walther with accusations concerning his want of full fidelity as a pastor, and to suggest that one who had been so remiss

in duty should abandon the office; and yet he knew well how to advise his elder brother that all such doubts were to be explained by the lack of complete surrender of the heart to Christ. More important than all excerpts from the theologians concerning the regularity of the call to the ministry was it to have the assurance of the personal call to his kingdom of grace. This was the spiritual preparation through which he reached his decisions concerning the doctrine of the church, which, embodied in theses,[1] and defended in 1841, in a discussion at Altenburg, lay at the foundation of all the efforts subsequently made by Walther within the sphere of church organization. Whatever Donatistic tendencies may have led to the emigration are repudiated by his clear statements of the relation of true churches to those bodies, where, with the preaching of the Word and the pure sacraments, there is much error:

The external separation of a heterodox communion from an orthodox church is not a necessary separation from the universal Christian church; nor is it a relapse into heathenism, and does not deprive that communion of the name of "church."

Even heterodox communions have church power: among them the blessings of the church are given in a valid manner, the ministry is exercised, and the sacraments administered with validity, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven are employed.

Even heterodox communions are not to be disbanded, but only to be reformed.

This was directed especially against the error of Stephan that there was no salvation outside of the Lutheran Church.

In accepting the call to the congregation in St. Louis a few weeks later, Walther did so with the formal statement that he was then convinced that his sin in connection with the emigration had not been such as to disqualify him from the pastoral office. The pastorate involved

[1] The theses are found in Gunther's "Lebensbild," pp. 44–46.

many cares, not the least of which was the mastery of the principles of church government, and the embodiment of them in a congregational constitution, for which the contemporary constitution in Germany gave him little help, and the previous work of Lutherans in America was excluded by the confusion and manifest abuses everywhere prevalent among them. Upon these earlier years rests his chief reputation as a preacher. His sermons were faithfully written out, and although most of them were not published until after his death, they have all the freshness of recent compositions. When, in 1874, Dr. A. Brömel completed his scientific criticism of the great preachers of the Christian Church, he began with Chrysostom and ended with Walther. Of Walther he says:

> He prays so ardently; he quotes the most precious verses and passages; he knows how to speak so forcibly from heart to heart; he knows always, as one of deep experience, how to put in the center the chief theme of the gospel, viz., consolation in the forgiveness of sins, that, from beginning to end, he is heard with the greatest joy. The old preachers of the Lutheran Church are so hard for us to use, because their form of preaching is so entirely foreign to our mode of discourse. We have to do violence to ourselves in order to avoid taking offense at their mode of expression. In Walther it is entirely different. He is as orthodox as John Gerhard, but as fervent as a Pietist; as correct in form as a university or court preacher, and yet as popular as Luther himself. If the Lutheran Church will bring its doctrines again to the people, it must be as faithful and definite in its doctrines, and as to form as interesting and thoroughly adapted to the times, as is the case in Walther. He is a model preacher in the Lutheran Church. How different would it be with the Lutheran Church in Germany if it had many such preachers![1]

A few themes which he has drawn from his texts, and upon which he has elaborated his sermons, will serve as fair specimens of the general character of his sermons: "Nothing but faith renders us worthy to receive the Holy Supper"; "How can a man know whether he be a temple of the Holy Ghost?"; "How foolishly they act who will

[1] Vol. ii., p. 307.

not sincerely confess before God their sins"; "The two important truths contained in the words: 'Jesus receiveth sinners.'" While his discourses are full of the comfort of the gospel, they are no less faithful declarations of the law, solemn warnings, and calls to repentance to the impenitent and careless. Whitefield scarcely could have spoken with more directness and pungency. Most forcibly has he condensed the faith of the Lutheran Church into a summary in an eloquent passage in one of his sermons:

It teaches that God hates no man, that he loves all men, and wills that all men be saved. It teaches, further, that the Son of God has propitiated God for all men, and redeemed them; that he has blotted out the sins of all men, and purchased for all the forgiveness of their sins, and a perfect righteousness. It teaches that God passes over no one, but earnestly urges every one to receive his grace. It teaches that the gospel is a great universal absolution, which God has already proclaimed to all men, which every one can take to himself, and every one—even the greatest sinner—can depend upon as certainly as God is true. It teaches that even those who have fallen often can return and again find grace. It teaches that the decisive question is not whether man feel grace and peace with God, and the forgiveness of sins, but whether he believe the promise of grace and forgiveness; for as man believes from the heart God to be, whether angry or gracious, so is he. It teaches that only two classes of men will not be saved, viz., those who want to help themselves out of their sins, and those who want to remain in their sins.

A most prominent feature in his sermons is his high appreciation of his adopted country, accompanied by the exhortation that the advantages of living in such a country as America brought corresponding responsibilities:

We live here in a State in which the church enjoys a freedom unsurpassed since its origin, and at present to be found scarcely anywhere else in the world. Our rulers, instead of allowing attacks to be made upon the rights of the church, exert all their power for the protection of these rights. We have here full liberty to regulate everything according to God's Word and the model of the church in its best days, and to give our church a truly Christian and apostolic form. If we take a glance at our old German Fatherland, how entirely different do we find it! There the church is bound in chains. False teachers, in most churches and schools, have been forced upon the congregations, and the few true ministers have their hands bound. The books which must be used in church and school are filled with the poison of false

doctrine. A Christian father can scarcely have the enemy of Christ, as he must regard his pastor, baptize his child without receiving abuse. If he appeal to Christian liberty, he is regarded a rebel. How happy, then, are we, compared with our brethren in our old Fatherland!

The congregation, growing in strength, built in 1842 its first church building, and two years later determined to assume the entire responsibility for the gymnasium then in Perry County.

The next year the controversy with the Buffalo pastors began. Up to the time of the publication of Pastor Grabau's "Hirtenstimme," in December, 1840, a union between the two bands of Lutheran colonists, who had much in common, had been hoped for. But in this publication Pastor Walther found many of the errors which he had entertained while under Stephan's influence, and which had been surrendered only after most severe struggles. He regarded them as thoroughly Romanizing, and expressed himself with entire freedom. The controversy continued for many years.

In 1844 "Der Lutheraner" was founded as an organ for the exposition and defense of the doctrines of the Lutheran Church by the Missouri pastors. This attracted to them a number of pastors who, either in isolation or in synodical organizations with which they had little sympathy, had been laboring upon the same principles. Prominent among them was Rev. Dr. William Sihler (born 1801, died 1885), in early life a Prussian lieutenant, whose military education had been received at Berlin, with Von Moltke as one of his fellow-students, and who, after his graduation in philology and philosophy at Breslau and Berlin, had been a colleague of the theologian Philippi, as professor in a gymnasium at Dresden. He was then pastor of a congregation, and a member of the Joint Synod of Ohio. Another was Rev. F. C. D. Wyneken, a gradu-

ate of Göttingen and Halle, then at Fort Wayne, a member of the "Synod of the West," belonging to the General Synod, and constantly on the defensive because of the opposition of the members of his synod to the conservatism, which they regarded Romanizing. When Wyneken read the first number of the "Lutheraner," he cried out: "Thank God! There are still more Lutherans in America."

The formation of a synod soon followed. The preliminary conference was held at Cleveland, O., in May, 1846. The outlines of a constitution were drawn up, which were afterward laid before a still larger conference at Fort Wayne, Ind., in July, 1846. All things being ready, April 26, 1847, the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and other States" assembled at Chicago, and Pastor Walther became its first president. The synodical roll contains the names of twenty-two pastors and two candidates. Besides the Saxon pastors, the Synod of Ohio and the conference in Michigan both contributed members. Thirteen years later, when this period of our history ends, the Missouri Synod has grown into four district synods, aggregating 121 ministers, 154 congregations, and 24,537 souls. The latest statistics (1893) are: Ministers, 1237; congregations, 1724; communicants, 330,000.

The leading features of the synodical constitution of this influential body, as they have been gradually developed from the principles laid down at the beginning, should be known by all seeking an acquaintance with the present condition of the Lutheran Church in America. Among the conditions of admission are: the reception of all the symbolical books as "the pure and uncorrupted explanation and statement of the divine Word"; renunciation of all mingling of churches and faiths; the use of pure church- and school-books; the regular call of pastors; the use of the German language in synodical sessions.

Orthodox pastors not authorized by their congregations to act as their representatives may be admitted as advisory members. The synod is divided into district synods holding annual sessions, while the synod assembles as a whole every three years. The synod is regarded only an advisory body in matters pertaining to the government of the individual congregations. Synodical resolutions are not in force until ratified by the congregations. Every district president, during his three years' term of office, is required to make a visitation of all the congregations, in which he hears at least one sermon of the pastor and criticises it, attends the catechetical instruction for the same purpose, examines into the use of liturgical forms, the nature of the service held on week-days, and the manner in which the pastor administers the private care of souls. The congregation and schools are subject to a similar inspection. District synods may be divided into a number of smaller districts, for a more thorough visitation.

In 1850 Walther ceased to be a pastor, and became professor of theology in the seminary, then established at St. Louis, giving his lectures for some months in his own dwelling. The same autumn he was relieved of the presidency of the synod by the election of Wyneken, who had succeeded him as pastor at St. Louis. In August, 1851, Walther and Wyneken were sent to Germany by their synod to confer with the more conservative Lutheran theologians of Germany, and especially with William Löhe, of Neuendettelsau, who had shown himself a warm friend of the Missourians, and had sent them a number of young pastors from his seminary, but with whom a misunderstanding had arisen. In the published writings of Löhe the Missourians thought they could detect the same dangerous hierarchical principles on account of which they had been so long in controversy with the Buffalo Synod,

while Löhe, in turn, had feared that the extreme congregationalism of the Missourians would end in the overthrow of all church order. Notwithstanding the very cordial meeting between them, and their deep interest in their mutual work for the Lutheran Church, the hopes entertained that a permanent settlement would be reached were fruitless. They were welcomed wherever they went, especially by Guericke at Halle, Kahnis at Leipzig, Harless at Dresden, Höfling, Thomasius, Hofmann, and Delitzsch at Erlangen. At the latter place Walther spent a month, finishing, with the aid of the University Library, his book, "Kirche und Amt." They were candid in dissenting from what they regarded the inconsistencies of their friends and hosts.[1] Their presence greatly increased the interest that had been felt in Germany for the Lutheran Church in this country.

The monthly theological journal, the "Lehre und Wehre," founded in 1853, enabled Professor Walther to enter more fully into the discussion of topics for the pastors, while the "Lutheraner" was devoted to the edification of the people. About this time began the discussions with the Iowa Synod.

This synod was formed August 24, 1854, by pupils of Löhe who were dissatisfied with what they regarded the extreme congregationalism of Missouri, and its denial of the existence of open questions in theology. Missouri maintained that there were no questions that were extra-confessional. Among the open questions for which Iowa contended was the tolerance within the Lutheran Church of subtile chiliasm. The proposition that the pope is Antichrist, taught in the Smalcald Articles, was insisted upon by Missouri, and denied by Iowa, as essential to the

[1] See "The Delegation of the Moravian Synod in Germany," "Evangelical Review," vol. iv., pp. 63, 544.

integrity of a pledge to the Lutheran Confessions. The Iowa Synod planted itself upon an unconditional subscription to all the doctrines contained in the Lutheran Confessions, but has maintained that the confessions must be understood in their historical relations. They are "not a code of law of atomistic dogmas of equal value and equal weight, but an organic expression of the living connection of the faith of the church. Accordingly there is a distinction to be made between the dogmas properly speaking and other parts of the symbols; as, e.g., the frequent exegetical, historical, and other deductions, illustrations, and demonstrations. Only the former, i.e., the dogmas, constitute the confession. What the symbols state as a confession, this it is to which the synod is bound."[1] Hence, the Iowa Synod, from the beginning, protested against what it regarded "a legalistic misuse of the symbols." Iowa took a position between Missouri and Buffalo in respect to the ministerial office. It agreed with the former in teaching that the ministerial office was originally given by God to the church, but differed from it by denying that the office had been given the individual members, and insisting that it always belonged to the church in its totality.[2]

Rev. G. Grossman, who had been sent by Löhe in 1852 to Saginaw City, Mich., to establish a Teachers' Seminary for the Missourians, removed the next year to Dubuque, Ia., and founded the Theological Seminary of the Iowa Synod. Here he was joined shortly afterward by Rev. J. Deindorfer, who had also been a member of the Missouri Synod. In September, 1854, Rev. Sigismund Fritschel, trained at Nüremberg and Neuendettelsau for the mission-

[1] Dr. S. Fritschel in "Distinctive Doctrines and Usages" (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 66.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

field, began his work in the institution as a theological professor, which, interrupted for three years, was resumed at St. Sebald, Ia., in 1858, and still continues. His brother, Gottfried Fritschel, became a professor in the same seminary in 1857, and was active with his pen and from his chair until shortly before his death, in 1889. Under these professors the German Iowa Synod has become one of the largest synods in the country, covering a wide area of geographical territory. Its chief development belongs to the succeeding period, in which its seminary was moved first to Mendota, Ill., and then back again to Dubuque, Ia., where it had started thirty-eight years before.

The Rev. F. Schmid, who began in 1833 a mission among the North American Indians in the neighborhood of Ann Arbor, Mich., gathered around him a number of pastors, chiefly from the Missionary Seminary at Basle, who labored with great self-denial and success among the German immigrants. The conference, which for a number of years they maintained, became in 1860 the Synod of Michigan.

In May, 1848, the Rev. J. Mühlhäuser, who had labored for ten years with great success in establishing the church at Rochester, N. Y., entered into the service of the American Tract Society for Wisconsin. He found it a vast mission-field. With three other pastors, in December, 1849, he founded at Milwaukee the Synod of Wisconsin, which received reinforcements of pastors from the Rhenish Missionary Seminary at Barmen, where its founder had been educated, and financial aid from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Although the seminary at Barmen belonged to the Union, the Wisconsin Synod inserted in its constitution a clear confessional obligation to all the symbolical books.

The mission work begun in Texas by Rev. C. Braun, of the Pittsburg Synod, was prosecuted by pastors drawn chiefly from the Chrischona Institute, near Basle, who formed in 1851 the Synod of Texas.

The great Scandinavian immigration was only at its beginning. From 1841 to 1850 the number of immigrants from Norway and Sweden is reported by the census as having been 13,903, and from 1851 to 1860, 20,931. Compared with the figure of 560,483 from 1881 to 1890, the number is indeed small; but it was sufficiently large to demand earnest efforts to supply the immigrants with the means of grace. These efforts resulted in laying the foundation of several large Scandinavian synods in the West.

A small band of Norwegians in 1825 were the pioneers. After nine years' stay in the neighborhood of Rochester, N. Y., they removed in 1834 to La Salle County, Ill. Others followed them in 1837. During the next decade the State of Wisconsin received many Norwegian settlers, who continued to pour into Illinois, as well as in less degree into Iowa and Missouri. Their first pastor was a Dane, Rev. C. L. Claussen, who came to this country in 1843, to labor as a schoolmaster among the neglected Norwegians. But their spiritual destitution was so great that he yielded to an urgent call from those in the Muskeego settlement, near Milwaukee, and was ordained by Rev. L. Krause, of the Buffalo Synod. When the regularity of his ordination was afterward questioned, he submitted the case to the faculty of the University of Christiania, who decided "that the circumstance that an ordination is performed by a minister, and not by a bishop, cannot, in and of itself, destroy the validity of a ministerial ordination."[1]

[1] "Evangelical Review," vol. iii., p. 405.

As the missionary zeal of Pastor Schreuder had enkindled interest in the neglected Norwegians of America in the heart of Claussen, so it also led to the sending of Rev. J. W. Dietrichson to America. Both desired to follow the earnest pastor to Africa, and were thus brought to this country. Pastor Dietrichson devoted himself, during his stay (1844–45) to the collecting and organizing of congregations, and then returned to Norway, to awaken interest and to aid in providing the congregations he had gathered with pastors. From 1846 to 1850 he was again laboring in Wisconsin. The formation of the synod known as "The Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church in America," in 1853, was the result, Claussen being its first president. Revs. A. C. and H. A. Preus, U. V. Koren, and P. L. Larsen were among its more prominent members. The influence of the Missouri Synod upon this body constantly grew, until, near the close of this period, it united in the Theological Seminary at St. Louis, Larsen having been its first professor there.

Other Norwegians were united with Swedes in the Synod of Northern Illinois, belonging to the General Synod. Paul Andersen, educated in Beloit College, Wis., was not only the founder of both the Norwegian churches in Chicago, but cared for the Swedes until they found a true shepherd in Rev. E. Carlson.

Elling Eilsen was a Norwegian revival preacher who came to America in 1839. The synod which he founded in 1846 was always small, and was reduced ten years later by a serious division. It was a movement favoring an uneducated ministry, lay preaching, and other irregularities discountenanced by the rest of the Norwegians. The synod suffered a third reorganization and division in 1876. Eilsen was a follower of Hans Nielsen Hauge (1771–1824), who pursued a similar course in his native country.

Swedish immigration began somewhat later; but the Swedes were thrown earlier into close connection with the Americanized portion of the Lutheran Church. Rev. Lars Paul Esbjörn is universally acknowledged as the founder of the Swedish Church in America of the nineteenth century. Born in 1808, he arrived in this country in 1849, burying two children, and himself prostrated by cholera, before he reached his destination in the Mississippi Valley. Important aid was afforded him in his work by the American Home Missionary Society, and by the Lutheran Churches on the eastern coast, among which he made an extensive tour, urging the claims of the scattered Swedes. Connected, along with his other Swedish brethren, with the Synod of Northern Illinois, he became in 1858 Scandinavian professor of theology in Illinois State University, Springfield, Ill. In 1860 the Scandinavians separated from the Synod of Northern Illinois and the institution at Springfield, founding the Augustana Synod, and the Theological Seminary, first at Chicago, then at Paxton, and now at Rock Island, Ill. In the seminary of the Augustana Synod Esbjörn labored for two years, returning to Sweden in 1862, and dying in 1870. Among the men most actively identified with him in organizing the Swedes into a compact, vigorous, active, and efficient body were: his successor as professor, T. N. Hasselquist, D.D. (died 1891), E. Carlson, D.D. (died 1893), E. Norelius, D.D., and J. Swensson (died 1873). Compared to its present proportions, the Augustana Synod, as organized in Rock County, Wis., June 5, 1860, with 27 pastors, 49 congregations, and 4967 communicants, was a mere handful. One of its founders,[1] reviewing the past, traces the guiding hand of Providence in the fact that "the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America was founded before

[1] Dr. E. Norelius, in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., p. 27.

the time when the tide of laxity in doctrine and practice swept over the old Fatherland," and recognizes [1] the valuable educational process through which the Swedes had passed during their connection with the Synod of Northern Illinois.

It should not be forgotten that one of the chief obstacles against which they had to struggle was the vigorous attempt, made through a Rev. G. Unonius, to carry both Norwegians and Swedes into the Protestant Episcopal Church, upon the ground that the Episcopal organization of the churches of Norway and Sweden rendered the Episcopal Church of this country their proper spiritual home.[2] The question was effectually settled at that time, and will not be likely to claim any attention in the future. The Danes, thus far, are few in number, and mingled with the Norwegians, the languages being scarcely more than dialects of the same tongue, readily understood by both nationalities.

[1] Page 33.
[2] Dr. W. M. Reynolds, in "Evangelical Review," vol. iii., pp. 412 sqq.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GROWTH AND CONFLICTS IN THE OLDER SYNODS.

It was manifestly impossible for the development within the portion of the Lutheran Church that had been planted by Muhlenberg to be unaffected by these new forces. It was subject to their constant criticism. The reality, the vigor, the warmth, the solidity of a true Lutheran Church life were presented by living examples among many of the immigrants, in their poverty and isolation. They awakened reminiscences of the days of Muhlenberg and his immediate successors. They were an effectual answer to the charge that true spirituality and fidelity to the Lutheran confessions were incompatible, and that a Lutheran Church in America was possible only by discarding its distinctive features and learning of others.

But they were not the only influences that were working. Students were beginning to arise among the ministry who were not content with what they had learned in the seminary or read in the periodical religious literature of the day. The contemporary literature of Germany was making its impression upon only a few, it is true, but these few were among the more influential. As early as 1843 the first edition of the "Dogmatic Theology" of Dr. H. Schmid, of Erlangen, had appeared, consisting of a copious selection of definitions from the Lutheran theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, method-

ically classified. It proved of untold value to American pastors. Some of them, not acquainted with the German, had a system of Lutheran theology, which they could read in the Latin of the theologians quoted. Even those acquainted with the German found in it what was far superior to the writers of the Supranaturalistic school, upon whom they had hitherto depended. Dr. J. G. Morris determined that it should appear in English, and divided the translation among the two Drs. Krauth, Dr. Baugher, Sr., Dr. H. I. Schmidt, and Dr. C. A. Hay. Although a generation elapsed before a translation appeared, the effects of the work were soon apparent. From the seminary at Gettysburg the elder Dr. Krauth wrote:

> Our verdict is unequivocally in behalf of the study, the thorough study, of this theology. We would have it thrown over our church with a liberal hand; we would have our ministers acquainted with the symbolical books; we would have them all versed in the distinctive theology of the church. We would have introduced into our theological schools the study of the symbols, and didactic and polemic theology so administered as to bring to view pure, unadulterated Lutheranism. . . . Some points may be found untenable; some may need modification; the defense of the whole may be placed in some respects upon a surer basis; but, take it all in all, we do not expect it ever to become obsolete.[1]

A translation of the "Epitome Credendorum" of Dr. Nicholas Hunnius was made and printed at Nüremberg in 1846 by a translator and printers with a limited knowledge of the English language, and sent to this country, where it was not without its influence among those who, in their desire to learn, were willing to overlook its many blunders.

The discussions connected with the Prussian Union were eagerly read. The writings of Hengstenberg, Sartorius, Rudelbach, Guericke, Thomasius, Harless, found those who were ready and able to utilize them in theolog-

[1] "Evangelical Review," vol. i., pp. 128 sqq.

ical discussions, as the pages of the "Evangelical Review" show.

The new interest felt in German theology in other denominations also reacted upon the Americanized Lutheran Church. At Andover, Dr. Park; at Princeton, Dr. Charles Hodge; at Union, Dr. H. B. Smith, were able, from their studies in Germany, to expound to their pupils and diffuse in their writings the peculiarities of historical Lutheranism, and even to concede its strength, where among American Lutherans only weakness had been found. But still greater was the impulse imparted by the coming of Dr. Philip Schaff to Mercersburg in 1843, and the higher value set upon German theology in consequence of his tireless literary activity. Long before any other denominations than his own were influenced from this source, the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, so closely connected with the German Reformed, responded to it. It checked the current from English and American and turned it toward German sources, from which it had been unnaturally separated. The "Kirchenfreund," begun by Dr. Schaff at Mercersburg in 1848, and continued afterward by Dr. W. J. Mann, was announced on its title-page to be the "Organ for the Common Interests of the American German Churches," and it proved to be a powerful defense against extravagances from which both churches were suffering, and a valuable auxiliary of the "Evangelical Review." Even the "Mercersburg Review"[1] opened its pages, in its opening volume (1849), to Schmid's exhibition of the Christology of the Lutheran Church, as presented in the translation of Dr. Krauth, Jr. This impulse was, of course, not directly toward the confessional Lutheran position, but it was indirectly so, by bringing the Americanized German churches back toward their histori-

[1] Vol. i., pp. 272 sqq.

cal moorings. In his lectures delivered before the Church Diet at Frankfort on the Main in 1854[1] Dr. Schaff has given a full and very valuable estimate of the position and divisions at that time of the Lutheran Church in America, and of its relations to the Reformed Church. While this sketch at the time of its publication did not escape criticism, its general correctness and the accuracy of its classifications, from the standpoint of that time, when read forty years later, must be admitted. Dr. Schaff has especially shown the extent of the departure that had occurred in the left wing of the General Synod, not only from historical Lutheranism, but from what he regarded Evangelical Christianity. Nor is he less faithful in his criticism of the weaknesses of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. But he notes the conservative reaction in the older bodies, as "in consequence partly of the growing study of German theology, partly of occurrences in a sister-church," while at the same time expressing his personal conviction of the hopelessness of attempts at union within the Lutheran Church upon the strict confessional basis of all the symbolical books. The "new measures," which had been extensively introduced into both churches, were most effectually antagonized by Dr. Schaff's colleague, Dr. J. W. Nevin. The debt of gratitude due him for this and other services by the Lutheran churches was formally expressed by the late Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., in introducing Dr. Nevin to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania at Lancaster, Pa., in 1874.

Personal acquaintance with staunch advocates of old Lutheranism, such as Pastor Wyneken, during his life in Baltimore and his membership in the General Synod, also contributed to strengthen the growing tendency among

[1] "America, Political, Social, and Religious," by Dr. Philip Schaff, New York, 1855.

the younger ministers.[1] Pastor Löhe, whose interest in the work in America had been stimulated by Wyneken's visit to Germany in 1841, and who had aided him in the preparation of his book "Die Noth der deutschen Lutheraner in Nord-Amerika," issued from 1842 to 1866 a monthly journal, "Kirchliche Mittheilungen aus und über Nord-Amerika," not only abounding in information concerning the progress of the missions connected first with the Missouri and afterward with the German Synod of Iowa, but also freely criticising the tendencies which they encountered, and chronicling the progress which conservative principles were making. Even though this journal sometimes was misled in its polemics, and fell into error from the natural tendency of those imperfectly acquainted with the field to give accurate reports, it could not fail to influence the progress of events in this country, while it brought material support from Germany for the destitute points in the far West. One of the prominent features of the journal before the separation between Löhe and the Missouri Synod was the attention paid to the missions among North American Indians that the Missouri Synod had established or acquired in Michigan at Frankenmut, Siboying, and Bethany, where Rev. August Crämer was the chief missionary. It was unfortunate that doctrinal dissensions between the founders of the Michigan and Missouri synods interfered with unity of action in their missionary endeavors among the heathen, and that there was further embarrassment by the subsequent alienation of Löhe.

As the conservative wing of the General Synod grew in strength and decision, the prospects of drawing into it a large portion of the independent synods grew brighter.

[1] Of this Dr. A. Spaeth has given an illustration in his sketch of Dr. Krauth, Jr., "Lutheran Church Review."

The Ministerium of Pennsylvania sent more of its students to Gettysburg. In 1850 it transferred to Pennsylvania College its interests in Franklin College at Lancaster, thus founding a professorship the nomination of whose incumbent was guaranteed it. The Lutheran trustees of Franklin College, nearly all of whom were from the ministerium, were added to the board of Pennsylvania College. Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg, a great-grandson of the patriarch, filled this chair with distinguished ability from 1850 to 1867. In 1848 the proposition of endowing a German professorship of theology in the seminary at Gettysburg was made. The next year it was accepted, and Dr. C. F. Demme nominated as professor. Upon his declinature the ministerium in 1852 undertook to endow a German professorship in Pennsylvania College. Dr. W. J. Mann was elected in 1854 to the professorship, and, upon his declinature, Dr. C. F. Schaeffer, who was also assigned duties as German professor of theology in the seminary, and was formally inducted into office in April, 1856.

At the opening of the sessions of the General Synod at Charleston, S. C., in 1850, the retiring president, Dr. C. P. Krauth, Sr., preached a sermon that gave no uncertain sound. It began with the sentence:

"The time has perhaps arrived in which it becomes the duty of the Lutheran Church in the United States to examine its position and to determine its future course."

The sermon is a plea for a higher regard for the chief symbol of the Lutheran Church, the Augsburg Confession, and for a more rigid enforcement of the acceptance of its doctrines. It led the way toward the advance which was subsequently made. Translated into German, it was republished in Rudelbach and Guericke's "Quarterly," and awakened interest on the other side of the ocean.[1]

[1] The original was published in "Evangelical Review," vol. ii., pp. 1 sqq.

The year 1853 marks a very strong movement, that promised to make the body organized a third of a century before more of a General Synod than it had ever been before. The confessional tendency seems to be breaking down all obstacles and sweeping everything before it. When it met at Winchester, Va., the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the Synod of Northern Illinois, the Pittsburg Synod, and the Synod of Texas applied for admission.

The action of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had not been taken without a considerable struggle. The clerical vote had been thirty-seven for entrance, and fourteen against it; but the lay delegates were almost evenly divided, fifteen voting for the General Synod, and fourteen against it. The resolutions determining the application became very important eleven years later. They are:

Resolved, 1. That this synod renew again its active connection with the so-called Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States of North America, approving of the principles laid down in its constitution for the government of the several Evangelical Lutheran Synods of which it is composed, and in regard to their relation to each other, and their mutual active operations.

2. That this synod regards the General Synod as an association of Evangelical Lutheran synods, entertaining the same views of the fundamental doctrines of the gospel, as these are expressed in the confessional writings of our Evangelical Lutheran Church, and especially in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, and that we advert to the fact that the General Synod is denied the right by its constitution of making any innovations or alterations of this faith. See Article 3, Section 2, § 3.

3. That this synod, in its union with the General Synod, retains its constitution and form of government, and also the right to regulate its own internal affairs, as previous and heretofore.

4. That we neither intend, nor ever expect, that the principles which have hitherto governed our synod in respect to church doctrine and church life shall suffer any change whatever by our connection with the General Synod; but that, should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require of our synod, or of any synod, as a condition of admission or continuance of membership, assent to anything conflicting with the old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required to protest against such action, to withdraw from its sessions, and to report to this body.

5. That we again earnestly request the Synod of Ohio, and all other Evangelical Lutheran synods that are not yet connected with the General Synod, to join us in uniting with it on the same principles, so that the individual parts of the Evangelical Lutheran Church may labor unitedly and more efficiently for the general welfare of the whole church.

The form of the confessional subscription of the ministerium was discussed at the same meeting in a paper prepared, according to appointment, by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer.[1] The resolution with which it closed was deemed too rigid, and a substitute offered by Dr. W. J. Mann was adopted:

Whereas the Evangelical Lutheran Church has, of late, arrived at clearer views of its doctrinal and other distinctive features; and whereas we are justified in expecting that both the internal and external welfare of our church will be thereby essentially promoted; and whereas we recognize the importance of an historico-confessional basis for the church; therefore, *Resolved:*

(*a*) That we also, in common with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, acknowledge the collective body of the symbolical books as the historico-confessional writings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and that we also, like the Evangelical Lutheran Church of former times, accord to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism an especial importance among our symbolical books generally.

(*b*) That we enjoin it upon all the ministers and candidates of our church, as their duty, to make themselves better and more thoroughly acquainted with these venerable documents of the faith of our fathers than has hitherto been the case with many.

(*c*) That it is not by any means our intention thereby to diminish the absolute authority of the Holy Scriptures, but much rather to place them in the clearest light possible, and that we by no means design through these symbols to place constraint upon the consciences of any, but much rather, through them to bind the conscience to the Holy Scriptures, as the divine source of truth.

Such was the confessional basis which the Ministerium of Pennsylvania placed upon record in entering the General Synod, and against which no protest was heard upon its admission.

A similar conflict had occurred in the Pittsburg Synod, where the vote for union with the General Synod had stood: for Union: clerical 10, lay 7; against: clerical 9,

[1] See "Evangelical Review," vol. v., pp. 189–213.

lay 3. A resolution was added referring to the constitutional inability of the General Synod to make any alteration in matters pertaining to the faith of the church, and therefore the want of authority to depart from the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession.

At this meeting of the General Synod, the address before the Historical Society by Dr. C. F. Schaeffer was a further development of the principles that had been so prominently set forth at Charleston, S. C., by Dr. C. P. Krauth, Sr. To one to-day reading this paper on "The Present Transition State of the Church," it cannot but seem remarkable that at the time it was deemed inadvisable to print it. Just a quarter of a century later, two manuscript copies were in the hands of the editors of the two Lutheran reviews, and narrowly escaped simultaneous publication at Philadelphia and Gettysburg.[1] It is a sober review, and a clear and candid examination of the progress that had been made on the questions of language, education, benevolent operations, and doctrines and religious usages. The future could scarcely have been forecast with greater accuracy if he had been endowed with the gift of prophecy, when he closed with the words: "The future historian of the church will, by the blessing of God, be able with truth to speak of such numbers, such learning, such piety, such educational and missionary efforts, in connection with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, as now scarcely exist in our imagination. Then will the church accomplish her great mission, and then will glory be given to 'God in the highest.'"

Learning and piety cannot be reckoned in statistics; but where there were 200,000 communicants then, there are 1,200,000 now.

Those within the General Synod who antagonized the

[1] The paper is found in "Lutheran Church Review," vol. vii., pp. 185 sqq.

confessional position were not silenced by the growing strength of the conservatives. They were all the more active and aggressive. Dr. Benjamin Kurtz, the editor of the "Lutheran Observer," filled that journal weekly with attacks upon the conservative position, arraigning the Lutheran Confessions, even the Augsburg Confession, for their alleged remnants of Roman error, and denouncing all liturgical worship as formalism. Dr. Passavant's "Missionary," published at Pittsburg, grew into a large weekly, and became the able organ of the conservatives, especially as it was enriched by the contributions of Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr.

Suddenly, in 1855, there came through the mails to many of the pastors a small pamphlet called "Definite Synodical Platform." The introductory note stated that it was prepared by consultation and coöperation of ministers belonging to different eastern and western synods of the General Synod. It claimed to accord with the General Synod's basis, since it did not add a single sentence to the Augsburg Confession, and did not omit "anything that has the least pretension to be considered 'a fundamental doctrine of Scripture.'" It affirmed that Luther and his associates changed their opinions on subjects treated in the Augsburg Confession, and "seven years later taught purer views in the Smalcald Articles." It professed to specify the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession that should be retained, and those which should be rejected. Accordingly it formally repudiated the following errors which it claimed were in the Augsburg Confession, viz., the approval of the ceremonies of the mass, private confession and absolution, denial of a divine obligation of a Christian Sabbath, baptismal regeneration, and the real presence of the body and blood of the Saviour in the eucharist.

Some of these charges could have no weight among an educated ministry. The Augsburg Confession, e.g., refers to the Lord's Supper by the name "mass," without in any way compromising the abhorrence of its adherents toward "the mass" as understood in the Roman Catholic Church. To the present day Scandinavian Lutherans designate their chief service on the Lord's Day as "the mass." But it was not so easy a matter to dissipate the prejudices of people to whom such words of the confession as these were read: "Ours are falsely accused of abolishing the ceremonies of the mass." Between the "private"—that is, individual—"confession" of the Lutheran, which is a voluntary privilege of a sin-burdened conscience, and the private, or enforced, confession of the Romanist, demanded as a condition of the forgiveness of sins, there is all the difference in the world. Nowhere is this difference more clearly explained than in the Lutheran confessions. But the similarity of terms was employed to excite a storm of prejudice.

It was advised that the "Platform" be adopted by the synods in the General Synod, with the resolution "that we will not receive into our synod any minister who will not adopt this 'Platform.'" The effect would have been to have excluded from the General Synod all who denied that the Augsburg Confession taught the alleged errors.

The "Definite Platform" erased the "*descensus*" from the Apostles' Creed; the clause that regeneration is "by baptism and the Holy Ghost," from Art. II. of the Augsburg Confession; the declaration that it is lawful to use the ministry of evil men, from Art. VIII.; and the statement that the grace of God is offered in baptism, from Art. IX. Art. X. was amended to read: "In regard to the Lord's Supper, they teach that Christ is present with communicants under the emblems of bread and wine." Art. XI.

was erased. Art. XII. had an addition made to the title, and read, "Of Repentance (after backsliding)." We will not go further in the enumeration. In all the articles the condemnatory sections are rejected. Even the deniers of the Trinity are not condemned. The second part of the "Platform" was a polemic upon the "Symbolic Errors Rejected." Again the changes were rung upon "the ceremonies of the mass," "exorcism," "private confession," etc. Even the Lutheran doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum* was interpreted as teaching that "the Divinity was conceived and brought forth by the frail mortal, the Virgin Mary"—an error which Luther and the Lutheran confessions expressly repudiate.

The effect of the publication was far different from what was anticipated. It was indorsed by one of the smaller synods in Ohio, but everywhere else it aroused intense indignation, as a misrepresentation and detraction of the Lutheran Church. In vain did the professor of theology at Gettysburg acknowledge that the anonymous publication came from his hand. He soon found that it was the great mistake of his life. Dr. Mann lifted the controversy above that of the weekly paper by publishing his book entitled "A Plea for the Augsburg Confession." The author of the platform replied in "Lutheran Symbols, or American Lutheranism Indicated," in which he endeavored to prove that the "Definite Platform" represented the historical position of the Lutheran Church in America. Dr. Mann answered in an historical monograph of permanent value, "Lutheranism in America," the titles of the two books correctly indicating the different conceptions of the two writers concerning the work and future mission of Lutherans in this country. Rev. J. N. Hoffman also entered into the controversy with his little book "The Broken Platform." His associate in Reading, Dr.

J. A. Brown, followed in 1857 with "The New Theology," and as a director of the Theological Seminary preferred charges of departure from his professional obligation against the author of the "Platform." These proceedings were arrested by the intervention of Dr. Krauth, Jr., who did not deem his former instructor's course such as to warrant action.

Meanwhile, in April, 1856, Dr. C. F. Schaeffer had entered upon his duties as professor in the seminary and college at Gettysburg. In his inaugural he took an advanced confessional position. Two systems of theology were taught in the same seminary, directly antagonistic on the points of controversy. The professors were brothers-in-law, and the personal factor which characterized the discussions in the papers was carefully excluded from the seminary. The students were soon divided, but the gain was constantly upon the conservative side.

One of the most important papers called forth by the publication of the "Definite Platform" was the declaration made by the Pittsburg Synod at its meeting at Zelienople, Pa., in 1856. It was prepared by Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., unanimously adopted, and afterward became the basis of a declaration by the General Synod. Of this "Declaration" the most significant statements are the following:

That while the basis of our General Synod has allowed of diversity in regard to some parts of the Augsburg Confession, that basis never was designed to imply the right to alter, amend, or curtail the confession itself.

That while this synod, resting on the Word of God as the sole authority in matters of faith, on its infallible warrant rejects the Romish doctrine of the real presence or transubstantiation, and with it the doctrine of consubstantiation; rejects the mass, and all ceremonies distinctive of the mass; denies any power in the sacrament as an *opus operatum*, or that the blessings of baptism and of the Lord's Supper can be received without faith; rejects auricular confession and priestly absolution; holds that there is no priesthood on earth except that of all believers, and that God only can forgive sins; and maintains the sacred obligation of the Lord's Day; and while we would with

our whole heart reject any part of any confession which taught doctrines in conflict with this our testimony, nevertheless, before God and his church, we declare that, in our judgment, the Augsburg Confession, properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with this our testimony—and with Holy Scripture as regards the errors specified.

That while we do not wish to conceal the fact that some parts of the doctrine of our confession in regard to the sacraments are received in different degrees by different brethren, yet that even in these points, wherein we, as brethren in Christ, agree to differ till the Holy Ghost shall make us see eye to eye, the differences are not such as to destroy the foundation of faith, our unity in labor, our mutual confidence, and our tender love.

That if we have indulged harsh thoughts and groundless suspicions, if we have without reason criminated and recriminated, we here humbly confess our fault before our adorable Redeemer, beseeching pardon of him and of each other, and covenant anew with him and with each other, to know nothing among men but Jesus Christ and him crucified—acknowledging him as our only Master, and regarding all who are in the living unity of faith with him as beloved brethren.

Nor was the discussion confined to the General Synod. The other Lutheran bodies in America were all disturbed by the charges made against the Augsburg Confession, and the proposition to mutilate and amend it. Among other indications of this general interest were four "Free Evangelical Lutheran Conferences," held from 1856 to 1859, for the discussion of the Augsburg Confession, article by article. The participants were members of the synods of Missouri, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New York. In the first three, held at Columbus, Pittsburg, and Cleveland, Professor Walther was the chief speaker.

As the time for the meeting of the General Synod in 1857 approached, Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., published a series of articles in "The Missionary," maintaining the great importance of the General Synod, and urging a clearer statement of its doctrinal basis. Never was the cause of the General Synod pleaded with more eloquence. He asserted that it was the hope of the Lutheran Church of this country, "the offspring of a reviving Lutheranism, born in the dawn that followed the night which fell upon our

church in this land, when the patriarchal luminaries of her early history had set on earth, to rise in heaven." Its formation was a great act of faith. When it became completely organized, "it was the only voluntary body on earth pretending to embrace a nation as its territory, and bearing a Lutheran name, in which the fundamental doctrines of Lutheranism were the basis of union." "Heaven pity the fate of the man who looks upon the General Synod as having been a curse to the church, or an inefficient worker in it—who imagines that the Lutheran Church would be stronger if the General Synod were weaker."[1]

In advocacy of the necessity incumbent on the General Synod to assert her purpose to maintain her original doctrinal position, Dr. Krauth was not yet ready to recommend the indorsement of any of the symbolical books beyond the Augsburg Confession. The distinctions since made by advocates of the General Synod against more rigidly confessional bodies owe their origin largely to these articles of Dr. Krauth, in which he speaks of the Augsburg Confession as "the symbol of Lutheran catholicity; all other distinctive portions of the 'Book of Concord' are symbols of Lutheran particularity, creeds of Lutheran churches, but not, in an undisputed sense, creeds of the Lutheran Church." The acceptance of the other confessions is within the liberty of Lutherans, but the refusal to accept them is not a necessity. The acceptance of the doctrinal articles implies the acceptance of the articles on abuses. For brevity's sake they are not specified, because the errors enumerated are rejected by all Protestants. The word "fundamental" in the confessional basis he interpreted as that which is fundamental to Lutheranism, i.e., to that system of Christianity of which the Augustana is the confession. He was satisfied

[1] "The Missionary," April 30, 1857.

even with the statement that the fundamental doctrines were taught "in a manner substantiallycorrect," since one who believes that they are taught in a manner absolutely correct holds, of course, that the manner is also substantially correct. He defended the reservation of the General Synod in not deciding the question whether the Augsburg Confession, as to its very letter, were or were not correct. He terms the extremes between which the General Synod stood as symbololatry and schism.

Standing, therefore, on the old formula of the General Synod, he urged that the ambiguities connected with it rendered a further definition desirable. It should make it clear that no ecclesiastical body should be recognized as Protestant, much less as Lutheran, which does not believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God. It should recognize no body as Lutheran which does not make the Augsburg Confession, unmutilated and unchanged, the subject, or part of the subject, of its confessional affirmation. In indorsing the doctrinal articles, the statement should be made that the other parts of the confession are not rejected. A clear statement should also be made of what doctrines are "fundamental as terms of admission to our ministry and of the union of synods with her." In advocating this, he classifies the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession as comprising: 1. Those fundamental to Christianity, confessed in Arts. I., III., VIII., XVI., XVII., and XIX. 2. Those fundamental to Protestant Christianity, as confessed by all the Evangelical Churches of the Reformation: Arts. II., IV., V., VI., VII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVIII., and XXI. 3. Those in which there seems to be a difference between the Lutherans and the Reformed, but in fact there is none: Arts. IX., XI., and XX. 4. Doctrines peculiar to the Evangelical Lutheran Church; Arts. X. and XII. Of

these, Art. XII. "has a few words in which the confession deviates from the views of some Evangelical Christians, but on which our General Synod would stand with the Confession." Art. X. is the only one in which "there is a confessed distinction between the Lutheran Church and the other churches of the Reformation." The unity on this article, he argues, is found in what it implies rather than in what it expresses, viz., in the divine appointment and perpetual obligation of the Lord's Supper, the rejection of transubstantiation and the doctrine of the mass, the administration in both kinds, and the necessity of a living faith for enjoying its blessings. "Securing these points, let the General Synod allow perfect freedom, as she has hitherto done, to reject or receive the rest of the article."

The whole argument is intended to show that any revision or amendment of the confession can accomplish nothing, and that if the Lutheran Church cannot unite on the Augsburg Confession, it cannot unite on anything.[1]

Deep as was the impression made by the articles, and especially by detached portions of the argument, there was no direct effect produced upon the meeting of the General Synod. The conviction was strengthened that no countenance must be given any effort to amend the confession, but even the most conservative were content to await the course of events before taking a forward move. The argument undoubtedly understated the position occupied by the conservatives. It is a brilliant example of the educational process by which the ablest of the theologians of the Lutheran Church of America was growing into far more decided convictions, and was rising to a much higher standard. Dr. Krauth had not yet returned to the position of Muhlenberg and his associates.

[1] "The Missionary," May 7, 14, 1857.

His standard then was as yet that of the best of Muhlenberg's successors, who resisted rationalism and stood firmly for Evangelical Christianity, but who had not been brought to the full appreciation of the importance of that which the Lutheran Church insisted on maintaining against the opposition of those forms of Christianity with which it had most in common.

Among the movements to resist the confessional tendency was the organization in 1857 of a new synod in Maryland, under the leadership of Dr. B. Kurtz, which took the name of the Melanchthon Synod, and justified its occupation of the territory of the Maryland Synod upon the principle of "elective affinity." This synod made the following "Declaration of Faith," upon the report of a committee of which Dr. B. Kurtz was chairman:

I. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the Word of God, and the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

II. We believe that the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession:

1. The divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures.[1] 2. The unity of the Godhead and the trinity of Persons therein. 3. The deity of our Lord Jesus Christ. 4. The utter depravity of human nature in consequence of the fall. 5. The incarnation of the Son of God, and his work of atonement for sinners of mankind. 6. The necessity of repentance and faith. 7. The justification of a sinner by faith alone. 8. The work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner. 9. The right and duty of private judgment in the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. 10. The immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the judgment of the world by Jesus Christ, with the eternal blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked. 11. The divine institution and perpetuity of the Christian ministry, and the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper.[2]

[1] Important as this article is, the Augsburg Confession took it for granted, and is silent on the subject. The Formula of Concord alone among the Lutheran confessions has stated it.

[2] These are the articles of the Evangelical Alliance, slightly amended. The changes are that No. 2 of the Alliance articles is made No. 9 in those

But while we thus publicly avow and declare our convictions in the substantial correctness of the fundamental doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, we owe it to ourselves and to the cause of evangelical truth to disavow and repudiate certain errors which are said by some to be contained in said confession: 1. The approval of the ceremonies of the mass; 2. Private confession and absolution; 3. Denial of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath; 4. Baptismal regeneration; and 5. The real presence of the body and blood of the Saviour in the eucharist. With these exceptions, whether found in the confession or not, we believe and retain the entire Augsburg Confession, with all the great doctrines of the Reformation.

The most significant act of the meeting of the General Synod at Pittsburg in 1859 was the admission of the Melanchthon Synod by a series of resolutions offered by Dr. Krauth, Jr., in which, however, the synod is very mildly requested to erase from its "Declaration" its implied charges against the Augsburg Confession. The vote admitting it stood ninety-eight to twenty-six, the entire delegation from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, with the Scandinavian delegates, Esbjörn, Hasselquist, and Klove, being recorded in the negative. A large portion of the conservatives, who would otherwise have voted against the admission, felt that their cause was secure in the hands of the mover of the resolutions, and that they had gained a victory by forcing the synod to terms which involved the rejection of its former attitude to the confession.[1] Thus was foreshadowed the action which was to be taken in the admission of the Franckean Synod at York in 1864. The dissatisfaction of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was openly expressed at its next meeting, both in the report

of the Melanchthon Synod; "his mediatorial intercession and reign" is erased from No. 5; Nos. 3 and 6 in the Melanchthon articles are new, and there is a verbal change, probably for brevity's sake, in the last article.

[1] See Dr. Krauth's explanation in "Proceedings of First Lutheran Diet" (1877), p. 142. "It was the thoroughgoing opposition which he had felt and shown to the admission of the Melanchthon Synod which made him the proper person to offer this resolution."

of its president (Dr. Welden) and in that of the delegates to the General Synod.

Beneath all these agitations the external activity of the church was manifesting much progress. At Gettysburg the college was under the presidency, beginning with 1850, of Dr. H. L. Baugher. It was strengthened by the addition of the two professorships of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In the South, Roanoke College, founded in 1853, is a monument to the earnestness and untiring zeal of its first president, Dr. D. F. Bittle (born 1811, died 1876). North Carolina College, Mount Pleasant, N. C., under the presidency of his brother, Dr. D. H. Bittle, had made a promising beginning in 1858, when it was overtaken by the calamities of the Civil War. In 1858 Dr. T. Stork had been called from Philadelphia to the presidency of the new college at Newberry, S. C. Dr. J. A. Brown had become professor of theology, succeeding Dr. L. Eichelberger, who had retired, the seminary having been removed from its former abode at Lexington, S. C. The youthful son of Dr. Stork, afterward Dr. Charles A. Stork, a graduate of Williams College, had become professor of Greek. Hartwick Seminary, New York, under Dr. G. B. Miller, was sending forth a small but valuable addition to the ministry. Wittenberg College and Seminary at Springfield, O., were becoming aggressive rivals of Gettysburg. A western college had been established, first at Hillsboro, and, after its incorporation in 1852, at Springfield, Ill., under the name of Illinois State University. Dr. F. Springer was its first president, succeeded by Dr. S. W. Harkey, and in 1857 by Dr. W. M. Reynolds. It included a theological department, with Dr. Harkey as professor, with whom Professor L. P. Esbjörn was afterward associated as Scandinavian professor. Still farther west, Dr. Reuben Weiser was at-

tempting the establishment of an English Lutheran college in Iowa.

The growing conservatism at Gettysburg had probably much to do with the founding of the Missionary Institute at Selinsgrove, Pa., by Dr. B. Kurtz in 1858, for the education of men advanced in life, for whom a shortened course was provided. Dr. H. Ziegler, the professor of theology, gradually reached a very decided conservative and confessional position. Dr. P. Born, the present first professor of theology, was the first principal of the classical department. At Allentown, Pa., the Collegiate Institute was under joint Lutheran and Reformed control. Dr. W. M. Reynolds was for several years its principal. The feeling was growing in the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that from it an institution for that synod might develop, as was afterward the case, in the establishment of Muhlenberg College (1867). Synodical academies at Greensburg and Zelienople, Pa., were preparing the way for a college in the Pittsburg Synod.

A retrospect will lead to the conclusion that the multiplication of colleges to such extent was in advance both of the call and of the necessities of the church. Three colleges for the English-speaking portion of the Lutheran Church during this period—one East, one South, one West—would have answered all demands. Apart from the expense involved, it was impossible to secure from the Lutheran people a sufficient number of competent scholars who could be made professors in the true sense of the term—men who could rise, whenever necessary, above mere text-book drill, and prove themselves thorough masters of their departments, and who, enthusiasts in devotion to their particular branches, were able to inspire others with their own enthusiasm. In most of these feeble institutions, teachers, half or even one fourth supported,

struggled to fill two, three, or even four departments; and a mere vague and superficial idea of the topics hurried over was the result. Nothing could be done thoroughly. The life was taken out of the instruction, because the teacher could not live in the branch which he taught. The local advantage was therefore more than balanced by the deterioration in the quality of the work done. The ministry, in most cases, did not obtain that thorough and many-sided liberal culture which a college course was supposed to represent, and this was felt also in their theological training. The weakness of an older was used as an argument to start new institutions, content to approach the low standard of those which preceded. The lack of intelligent directors was as lamentable as that of a well-equipped faculty. It may serve as a partial explanation of the confusion that prevailed that there was not a single professor of theology in the English seminaries in the North who had obtained the liberal training of a full college course, except the professor of German theology at Gettysburg. The controversy connected with the "Definite Platform," prepared and published under a supervision characterized by the same defects, may be the more readily understood when this is remembered.

There was a field open to the Lutheran Church which it neglected to cultivate. Its colleges might have exerted a vast influence upon the country, and attracted large support from the general public, if, instead of being feeble imitations of the American colleges around them, they had been modeled after the best German gymnasiums, and, in their management, there had been a wise combination of German thoroughness with sympathy for American institutions. As it was, German sources were the very last to be consulted, and German standards the very

last to be considered, and then only after those of other than German origin had shown their appreciation for them. On the other hand, the German-American colleges in the West were too exclusively occupied with the preparation of candidates for the ministry to give the necessary liberal culture. They were modeled more after the preparatory schools for missionary seminaries in Germany than after those which trained students for a university course. Their professors were strangers to this country, noticed chiefly the weaker sides of American education and American religious life, and were unable to sufficiently appreciate their new relations to adapt the instruction to the new demands.

The missionary work was being energetically conducted. In 1853 the mission in India had grown so as to justify the organization of the Synod of India, with Father Heyer as its president. The reports to the General Synod in 1869 indicate the increase of missionaries, but, as might be expected, only the feeble beginnings of the communicant membership. The statistics were: missionaries, 10; communicants, 110; catechists, 3; colporteurs, 3; schools, 21; teachers, 22; scholars, 485; natives preparing for the ministry, 4.

The development of home missions was encouraging. Between 1857 and 1859 the General Synod sustained sixty-seven missions, while some of the district synods, as the Ministeriums of Pennsylvania and New York, and the Pittsburg and Allegheny Synods, had their independent mission work, which rivaled that of the general body. One of the most interesting pictures presented is that of the aged Father Heyer, who could not rest after his return from India in 1857, but proceeded to the western frontier, and withstood the winters of Minnesota, as he had the torrid heat of India. He was sent thither by the General

Synod's board, and was further aided by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. In November, 1857, he made St. Paul his home, and began to gather together the scattered Germans. Those discouraged to-day because of the slowness of the Lutheran Church to enter the field may be encouraged when they compare his reports concerning the immense loss occasioned by previous delays, and the opportunity which he feared had been lost, with those collected by Dr. Carroll concerning the present strength of the Lutheran Church in the twin cities of Minnesota. He had to solve the problem of the erection of a church building as the center for his work. It was a hard struggle, but he was equal to it. His desire to found an English church at St. Paul was deferred. Over the prairies of Minnesota he went, sometimes, as in India, in a primitive ox-cart, baptizing children, preaching, and prospecting for places in need of Lutheran pastors, until at length, in a very few years, the Synod of Minnesota was the result.

Considering what was done for the English work in the Mississippi Valley during the decade 1850–60, the results at the present are disappointing. The colleges then founded have disappeared. There are no congregations of strength. The causes may probably be traced to the uncertain and indefinite doctrinal position then taken, which encouraged entrance into other churches, except where connection with the Lutheran Church was perfectly convenient, and which developed a form of church life that obliterated, to a great extent, distinctive Lutheran features. The later development on this territory is more encouraging, as the adherence to the Lutheran faith has been more positive.

A very important event was the founding of the Church Extension Society by a convention at Frederick, Md., May 19, 1853, for furnishing poor and destitute congre-

gations with church buildings. The end in view was the securing of a capital of $50,000, to be devoted to loans upon secure mortgages, without interest. A very small portion of the desired amount accumulated during this period; but this agency has been one of the chief means by which the General Synod has advanced. In 1893 the Board of Church Extension reported assets of over $247,000, a large portion of which, however, was in lots, donated at various points, for future churches, and in properties from which little can be realized.

A Publication Society was formed in 1855. It was in answer to the general demand for better acquaintance with the doctrines and history of the Lutheran Church. It aimed to furnish both translations and original works in this interest. Rev. B. Keller was its indefatigable and successful agent, who canvassed the churches and secured a handsome beginning of an endowment. A building had been rented and a depository opened on Arch Street, near Eighth, Philadelphia. In 1859 a direct connection of the society with the General Synod was effected.

Contributions toward an English Lutheran literature were abundant during the decade 1850–60. Some have been already mentioned. We add the principal publications not yet referred to. Among the controversial works, Dr. Bachman's contributions, as a naturalist as well as theologian, to the discussion of the unity of the human race took a side then deemed unscientific, against Nott, Gliddon, Morton, Agassiz, etc. Since then, scientific skepticism has gone to the opposite extreme, the unity of all forms of animal life being maintained by the advocates of the evolutionary hypothesis. Dr. J. A. Seiss, then pastor in Baltimore, was in controversy with Dr. Richard Fuller on the subject of baptism. His book "The Baptist System Examined," published in several editions, was the final re-

sult. Dr. Seiss's lectures on "The Last Times," in which he advocated the pre-millennial return of Christ, had already attracted attention, and given him a wide reputation both in this country and in Great Britain. His "Digest of Christian Doctrine" (1857) was an attempt to supply a felt want, that was well executed. It is a very brief statement of theological definitions from recognized Lutheran theologians. His "Gospel in Leviticus" (republished in London) and "Book of Forms" were just about appearing. "The Evangelical Psalmist," of which he was chief editor, did much toward preparing the way for "The Church Book" and its proper use. Dr. Morris published a number of interesting small volumes illustrative of events in the life of Luther, as well as a memoir of John Arndt. Dr. C. P. Krauth's translation of Tholuck on "The Gospel of St. John," Dr. C. F. Schaeffer's translation of Kurtz's "Sacred History," Dr. C. W. Schaeffer's "Early History of the Lutheran Church," "Family Prayers," and translation of Bogatsky's "Golden Treasury," Dr. G. F. Krotel's book on the beatitudes, and his translation of Ledderhose's "Life of Melanchthon," Dr. M. L. Stoever's "Life of Muhlenberg," Dr. S. S. Schmucker's "Lutheran Manual," and some practical works by Dr. B. Kurtz and Dr. T. Stork, belong to this time.

There was no lack of church periodicals. The same principles apply to them we have already noted in referring to the multiplication of colleges. Important as the church paper is for diffusing the life of the church among the people, we can in no way determine how efficiently this is accomplished by the number of journals that attempt it. The aim too often is to prevent information and discussions from reaching those who would be apt to be influenced thereby. The editors and contributors, giving their services in general gratuitously, and overburdened with

other labors, as a rule feel themselves, or are found to be, entirely incapable of representing to their readers all the interests of the church fairly and impartially. Each is apt to stand only for a side of the truth, and that often a narrow one, while other sides of the truth, and other truths just as important, are excluded or overlooked. Notwithstanding these defects, the church could not do without them, and a debt of gratitude is due many disinterested laborers in this sphere. In the "Lutheran Observer," until 1858, Dr. B. Kurtz continued to wage a warfare against the incoming wave of "symbolism," as he called it, and from which he apprehended grave consequences, Drs. Anspach and Diehl having succeeded him as this period closes. In "The Missionary," Dr. Passavant was communicating most interesting facts concerning the progress of missions throughout the country, and had gained a co-laborer in Dr. Krauth, Jr., whose theological articles were at the time heavy reading for a weekly, but had a powerful and permanent influence upon the educated ministry. In "The Standard" of Columbus, O., Dr. Greenwald for a portion of this period had been with all mildness but firmness pleading for fidelity to the confessions. "The Evangelical Lutheran" and "The Olive Branch" represented the interests of Springfield, O., and Springfield, Ill., the former under the editorship of Rev. V. L. Conrad, and the latter under that of Dr. S. W. Harkey. "The Lutheran Home Journal" was a family magazine of much interest and a high literary standard, issued by the Board of Publication at Philadelphia. "The Evangelical Review," before mentioned, of Gettysburg, Pa., was the great repository of articles of permanent value, that render it almost as important for the American student of Lutheran theology to-day as when its numbers were issued. It was the chief link, of this period, between Lutheran theology and

the Lutheran Church of America that used the English language.

Among the German papers, the "Kirchenbote" of Gettysburg, and then of Selinsgrove, represented the American Lutheran, and the "Zeitschrift," under Pastor S. K. Brobst of Allentown, the confessional position, in which it was supported by the "Herold" of New York.

PERIOD V.

REORGANIZATION.

A.D. 1860——.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ERA OF DISINTEGRATION (1860–67).

THE period beginning with 1860 and extending to the present is remarkable especially for the enormous immigration to this country, which has carried with it a large Lutheran population. Vast as was the immigration of the preceding period, it can bear no comparison with this. The Norwegian and Swedish immigration, from 1861 to 1870, numbered 117,798, from 1871 to 1880, 226,488, and from 1881 to 1890, 560,483 persons. The Danes numbered from 1861 to 1870, 17,885, from 1871 to 1880, 34,577, and from 1881 to 1890, 88,102 persons. They may all, with a very few exceptions, be counted baptized members of the Lutheran Church. From these three Scandinavian countries alone over one million of population has been added to that for whose care the Lutheran Church is responsible. Over four millions of Germans entered America during the same time, among whom were large numbers of Lutherans. Finland, the Baltic Provinces of Russia, and Iceland contributed also their thousands. Nor must it be forgotten that the statistics given are those solely for the United States, and do not include the parallel wave of immigration to Canada, which is not divided by any ecclesiastical lines from the Lutheran Churches of America. The St. Lawrence has proved to be a less formidable ecclesiastical barrier between the Lutherans on its two sides than has been the Potomac.

The effects of this immigration are seen in the growth of

the cities and their immediate surroundings, and in the great expansion of the population in the West. The rural districts and the smaller towns of the East have not gained much from it. The South has received few of the immigrants, except in Texas. New York and Brooklyn, and the numerous smaller cities along the line of the old Erie Canal, have been favorites. Thence the line may be traced westward, through Ohio, until at length, increasing throughout Indiana and Illinois, there is found in Wisconsin and Minnesota and North Dakota a preponderance of the Lutheran element, even exceeding that of eastern Pennsylvania. As a consequence, there were in the city of Chicago in 1893 as many communicants in the Lutheran churches as in the Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and Methodist combined. In Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, the Lutheran Church stood first in numbers. The number of communicants in Wisconsin has grown until they are now more than all those in the country in 1850. Minnesota in 1890 had 143,522 Lutheran communicants; those in 1850 in the United States numbered 143,543. Illinois in 1890 was within five thousand of the number reported for the whole country in 1840. The city of Chicago alone exceeded by seven thousand communicants the number reported for the whole country in 1820. While tens of thousands are without the means of grace, and thousands of others have entered other denominations, these figures represent the tenacity of the Lutheran faith, and the earnestness of the immigrants, in their poverty, to provide churches and pastors for themselves and their children.

This immigration has made the Lutheran influence felt outside of purely ecclesiastical circles. It has entered even into the calculations of politicians. On the question of "prohibitory legislation" the various denominations of this

country have been much agitated. A number of ecclesiastical bodies have entered at various times, as organizations, into the movements for the enactment and enforcement of such laws. The General Synod and a number of its district synods are on record upon this side. With them, on this subject, the Swedish Augustana Synod of the General Council has been in full accord. There has been no question in any of the Lutheran synods concerning the great sin not only of drunkenness, but also of intemperance that even does not reach the line of drunkenness. The Synod of Missouri and the synods affiliated with it have waged a relentless war against the saloon. To those coming from countries where the moderate use of beverages which when drunk in great excess lead to intoxication is universal, but where such abuse is most rare, the radical remedies proposed by prohibitory legislation have seemed oppressive. There has never, however, been that direct opposition to prohibitory legislation by ecclesiastical action that there has been in its favor in the bodies mentioned. It would become such, however, the moment that there would be legal interference with the use of wine in the Lord's Supper. Where this subject, therefore, has been a prominent factor in party politics, the presence and attitude of the large Lutheran population have been matters of concern to those most deeply interested in the result.

There was a direct issue in the year 1890, in a number of the Northwestern States, in which the vote of the members of the Lutheran churches changed the current not only of State, but of national, politics. A revised school law, especially in the States of Wisconsin and Illinois (known in Wisconsin, from its author, as "the Bennett Law"), not only required that certain branches should be taught in English, but placed all schools, including the parochial schools, under State supervision. The synods of the

Synodical Conference and the Synod of Iowa, in which the parochial school system has been developed with greatest success, coöperated with the Roman Catholics in a most thoroughly organized resistance, which overthrew the party in power in the States in which such legislation was proposed, and secured the permanency and independence of the parochial schools. While the church as such has nothing to do with politics, yet when Christian men are convinced that an attempt is made by the state to interfere with the church's legitimate work, they cannot be expected to do otherwise than to resist by every lawful and honorable means. These instances are cited here only as illustrations of the growing importance that is conceded to the Lutheran element in American society. The country has learned, to an extent, to recognize its significance, and to be interested in ascertaining who these people are, and whence they came, and whither they are tending.

To one viewing this period from the inside, it divides naturally into three sections, according to the prevailing tendency. There is, first, an era of disintegration (1860–67); secondly, of reconstruction and reorganization (1867–77); and, thirdly, of the reapproach and readjustment to one another of the separated portions (1877–93).

In 1860 the General Synod numbered two thirds of the Lutheran Church in this country, having 864 out of 1313 ministers, and 164,000 out of 235,000 communicants. All hopes of centralization seemed to depend upon the maintenance of its numerical integrity. It was in the interest of this centralization that the conservatives had yielded so much in the terms upon which the Melanchthon Synod had been admitted. The disintegration began soon afterward, and at first did not seem to be very formidable. At Springfield, Ill., the Swedes and Norwegians of the Synod of Northern Illinois provided for a professorship in

Illinois State University, which was filled by Professor L. P. Esbjörn. Although the preponderance of sentiment within the synod and at the institution was on the conservative side, the Scandinavians felt insecure because of the heat of the controversy raging among their American brethren, in which the Scriptural character of the Augsburg Confession as a whole, and of certain of its articles, which they held sacred, had been called in question. The timidity of the General Synod in dealing with the case of the Melanchthon Synod had alarmed them. They declared that they had evidence that efforts were being made to change the nature of the doctrinal obligation of their professor of theology, although they alone were responsible for his support. The Swedes are a peace-loving people; and sooner than be subjected to the annoyance of an incessant controversy for years, they determined, with their Norwegian brethren, to withdraw, and to allow the Americans alone to fight the battle. Their professor left the seminary very suddenly, and their students also withdrew, in February, 1860. A convention was held in Chicago by their pastors, who on May 7th formally dissolved their union with the Synod of Northern Illinois. A series of preambles precedes the resolution of withdrawal:

> Whereas we are fully convinced that there is a decided doctrinal difference in our synod; and whereas there in reality already exists a disunion, instead of union, in the synod; and whereas strife and contention tend to destroy confidence, and to weaken our hands and retard our progress; and whereas we are liable at any time, by an accidental majority of votes against our doctrinal position, to have a change forced upon us; and whereas it is our highest duty to maintain and preserve unmutilated our confession of faith, both in our congregations and in the theological instruction imparted to, and the influence brought to bear upon, our students, who are to be the future ministers and pastors of our congregations; and whereas our experience clearly demonstrates to us that we cannot be sure of this, in the relations we have heretofore sustained.[1]

[1] "The Missionary," May 17, 1860. Compare *ibid.*, May 24th.

Dr. E. Norelius, one of the participants in this conference, writing twenty-five years afterward, says: "It must be acknowledged that the severance of our connection with the Synod of Northern Illinois took place in a kind of revolutionary way; but even in this we may behold the guiding hand of God."[1] The immediate effect undoubtedly was a weakening of the conservatives. A blow was dealt the young institution, then under the guidance of Drs. S. W. Harkey and W. M. Reynolds, from which it never recovered. Slowly it declined, until, after the valuable property was saved to the Lutheran Church by the maintenance of the mere form of a college by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, it was finally transferred, early in the seventies, to the Missouri Synod, for its now flourishing Practical Seminary. When in June, 1860, the Scandinavians completed the organization of their synod, they called it the Augustana Synod, and their new college, founded shortly afterward at Paxton, Ill., and thence transferred to Rock Island, was called Augustana College, both names being intended as clear and distinct confessions of adherence to that fundamental creed of Lutheranism which they had thought to be imperiled by their previous associations. They thus proclaimed that, whatever might be the extent to which Americans allowed the existence of errors in the Augsburg Confession to be an open question, the Swedes and Norwegians would proceed quietly and peaceably to the building up of their churches, and the development of their work according to the faith therein taught. Had they done otherwise, and allowed their adherence to the Augsburg Confession to admit of doubt, their relations to their home churches in Europe would have been jeopardized. The Swedes were not ready to renounce the decree of the Council of Upsala of 1593.

[1] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. v., p. 33.

Church conflicts were almost forgotten in the civil agitations of the close of 1860 and the subsequent year. The passions aroused in the bitter discussions which preceded the clash of arms, and all the extravagances of denunciation that marked the utterances of the press and the declamations of public speakers during the war, undoubtedly had their effect in intensifying the violence of ecclesiastical controversy when it again broke out. In those days it was impossible to judge questions with judicial fairness and to look dispassionately upon two sides of an argument. Men were either intense partisans or were silent. Arbitrary measures which would scarcely be entertained in time of peace were deemed perfectly justifiable in time of war. What Christian men would persuade themselves to be right in the State they were ready to introduce and defend in the church. The church press could not but be infected by the spirit which controlled the secular press.

But before this increased partisan rancor could occasion a rupture, one had occurred in the separation, four years previously, of the Southern synods from the General Synod by the lines of two hostile armies. Such was the confusion and uncertainty attending the opening of the war in the spring of 1861, that it was deemed advisable to postpone the meeting of the General Synod until the following year. When it met in Trinity Church, Lancaster, May 1, 1862, the excitement connected with the war was intense. A dark shadow had fallen over many a household of those there represented, by the sacrifice of some cherished member. The daily anxiety for others exposed to the perils of the battlefield and camp was intense. The horrors of war as seen in hospitals, and in trains laden with wounded carried North, were indescribable. That some action concerning the conflict would be taken, and

that this action would be most pronounced against the South, could readily have been expected. The General Synod, accordingly, sent a committee to President Lincoln, communicating resolutions characterizing "the rebellion against the constitutional government of this land" as "most wicked in its inception, unjustifiable in its cause, unnatural in its character, inhuman in its prosecution, oppressive in its aims, and destructive in its results to the highest interests of morality and religion." One supplementary resolution expressed "decided disapprobation of the course of those synods and ministers, heretofore connected with this body, in the open sympathy and active coöperation they have given to the cause of treason and insurrection"; and another conveyed the sympathies of the General Synod to "our people in the Southern States, who, maintaining true Christian loyalty, have in consequence been compelled to suffer persecution and wrong; and we hail with pleasure the near approach of their deliverance and restoration to our Christian and ecclesiastical fellowship."

It is a question whether the last resolution did not formally convey to the Southern synods their exclusion, or, at any rate, suggest that, without a change of attitude concerning the issues of the war, their return would not be desired. Whatever may have been the intention of the General Synod, they quickly so interpreted it. Condemned by the body to which they had belonged, they determined not to wait for the end of the war, but to organize a new general organization immediately. "The General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America" was organized at Concord, N. C., May 20, 1863, withdrawing from the old General Synod five of its district synods. When peace was finally established, the resolutions of 1862 were a bar

to the return of the Southern synods. But if they had been the only obstacles, they would doubtless have been overcome. If the church in the North would have remained united, the Southern synods would soon have resumed their former place. The close of the war came when a separation between the Northern synods seemed imminent. The attention of the church was concentrated upon the controversy that was raging in the church papers. Another seminary had been established in Pennsylvania, representing the conservative element, which had attracted to its support many of the most prominent pastors in the General Synod. The leaders of the Southern General Synod, most of them young men, were in accord with the growing conservative tendency, even though the life of many of the congregations was greatly affected by influences proceeding from the denominations around them. Their "Book of Worship," published during the war, showed an advance in this regard upon the "Hymn-book" of the church in the North. In 1866 it was therefore decided to perpetuate the General Synod of the Confederate States, under a new name, viz., "The Evangelical Lutheran General Synod in North America." A Pastoral Address was issued, in which the reasons were assigned for its separate existence. The progress of the Lutheran Church in the South, it was urged, was dependent partially upon its more complete independence of the North. Southern Lutheran institutions, and Southern Lutheran literature adapted to the peculiar wants of the church in the South, were especially necessary. It was also affirmed:

> The little progress which the Lutheran Church has made in this country, North and South, is to be accounted for, in great measure, by the extreme latitudinarianism which she has taught and practiced. It has been too much the practice of her ministers to seek to make the impression on the public

mind that in no important particular do we differ from other denominations. The consequence is the want of that church love so essential to the success of every church, and which we see so strongly developed among the Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Episcopalians. This fact also accounts for the easy transition of our ministers and members to the communion of other churches. As Lutherans we have an historical prestige and a confession of faith which, the property of other denominations in our midst, they would virtually eclipse the success of every church wanting these. Why, then, do we not avail ourselves of the armor furnished to our hands, and get to ourselves a name and position which shall be the glory of Protestantism? Let us, then, at this particular juncture of our church, plant ourselves firmly upon the Augsburg Confession, the proud bulwark of Protestantism, despite all opposition, from whatever source, arrayed against us. . . . We would seek to perpetuate our organization further, because of the distraction and contentions in the General Synod of the United States. From its rise to the present time it has been convulsed and torn by internal dissensions. At its late meeting at Fort Wayne, Ind., the Pennsylvania Synod withdrew, with the probability of others pursuing a like course.

Throughout the war the Lutheran churches, on both sides of the line, suffered greatly. The losses of those in the North were chiefly of the soldiers who fell in battle or from disease. The battle of Gettysburg raged around the institutions of the General Synod. From the cupola of the Theological Seminary the Union generals, Reynolds and Buford, made their observations at the opening of the first day's engagement, and from that of Pennsylvania College General Lee surveyed the left center of the Union line, before the famous charge of Pickett was ordered on the afternoon of Friday, July 3, 1863. In the retreat of the first day the lines of battle swept through the grounds of both institutions, and as they passed over them they left in their track the dead and dying. For many weeks the buildings were used as hospitals. In the haste, books were taken from the library shelves of Pennsylvania College, and used to support the heads of the wounded laid upon the floor. The blood-soaked volumes of venerable

theologians of former centuries, with pages still cemented by the life-current that flowed from the hearts of dying heroes, remain as records, more eloquent than any written language, of the horrors of war. The damages were speedily repaired by contributions from the churches.

But the heaviest losses were those of the South. The Shenandoah Valley, through which the two armies so frequently moved, and in which they met, contained many Lutheran congregations. The churches farther South suffered greatly from Sherman's march to the sea. The venerable Dr. Bachman, of Charleston, S. C., was one of the heaviest losers, and with him the entire church, by the burning of his valuable library with his manuscripts. He also suffered painful physical violence from one of the lawless bands that, under the pretended sanction of military law, traversed the country to rob and to injure all who withstood them. With the exception of Roanoke College, all the institutions in the South were closed. Their students and those who would have become such were, as a rule, taken, willingly or unwillingly, into the Southern army. The funds of many of these institutions were invested in Confederate securities, and, with the fall of the Confederacy, became worthless. Newberry College was emptied of its students for use by the Confederate government, and the building was left in a condition that rendered it for years unfit for its intended purpose. The Theological Seminary was closed during the second year of the war, thus leaving the South without any provision for theological instruction until after the return of peace.

The most serious break in the General Synod began in 1864. In 1839 a resolution had been passed condemning alike the Franckean and Tennessee synods, as representing

the two extremes inimical to union in the Lutheran Church. When an effort was made, therefore, in 1857, to rescind the action concerning the one, the action concerning the other had, as a matter of course, to receive the same treatment. With the ban upon them removed, the Franckeans were encouraged by the admission of the Melanchthon Synod to hope that without any formal acceptance of the Augsburg Confession they might also be received. At first the case was promptly disposed of by a resolution that they would be admitted "so soon as they shall give formal expression to their adoption of the Augsburg Confession as received by the General Synod." This was intended to bring the question of the relation of the Franckean Synod to the Augsburg Confession before that body, and to make their reception at a subsequent convention of the General Synod contingent upon their own action. But the subject was reopened the next day by the presentation of a paper from the delegates, in which they declared that in adopting the constitution of the General Synod the synod had "understood that they were adopting the doctrinal position of the General Synod, viz., 'That the fundamental truths of the Word of God are taught in a manner substantially correct in the Augsburg Confession.'" This led to a reconsideration of the vote, and a protracted debate, resulting in the admission of the synod by a vote of ninety-seven to forty, "with the understanding that said synod, at its next meeting, declare, in an official manner, its adoption of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God." This resolution established the principle that a synod could be admitted to the General Synod without any official action of adoption of the Augsburg Confession

preceding, solely in reliance upon the prospect of such action in the future. The assurance of the delegates was, for the time, accepted as equivalent to the official action of the synod. What added to the embarrassment in the admission of the Franckean Synod was that that synod had, instead of the Augsburg Confession, its own confession of faith, in which the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church were not contained. This confession, or "Declaration," was as follows:

1. We believe the Scriptures are the inspired Word of God, and contain an infallible rule of faith and practice for mankind.

2. That there is one true and living God, called and made known by revelation under the name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; infinite and immutable in all natural and moral perfections, the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

3. That man was created in the image of God, free from sin and every moral imperfection; that he fell by disobedience from this state, and became morally depraved in his nature; and that, in consequence of his sin, he transmitted his moral pollution and sinful propensities to all his posterity.

4. That Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, in the fullness of time was manifested in the flesh, and is the only Redeemer; that he was crucified, dead, and buried; that he arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and is now exalted at God's right hand, to make intercession for the whole human race.

5. That God, who is rich in mercy, has not left mankind to perish in that state of misery which they have deserved by their sins, but has, in his infinite love, provided a way of salvation, through the atoning death of Jesus Christ, his beloved Son; that his sacrifice has made an ample and sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole human race; and that the saving benefits of the atonement are freely and sincerely offered to all men by the gospel, but that those only who repent and believe in the Lord Jesus Christ will be saved.

6. That men are not justified on account of any merits or works of their own, but are freely justified by faith in the atoning blood of Christ, for whose sake only God pardons sin.

7. That the Holy Ghost is given to quicken and renew the hearts of men, and that the influences of the Spirit and of the Word of God are indispensably necessary to bring sinners to repentance, produce saving faith, sanctify the soul, and perfect our holiness.

8. That there is a necessity of a radical change of heart, and that none should be admitted to membership and privileges of the church but such as

give a credible evidence of being born again, and are living according to the precepts and requirements of the gospel.

9. That Christ has instituted the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper for the perpetual observance and edification of the church; baptism is the initiatory ordinance, and signifies the necessity of holiness of heart, and the Lord's Supper is frequently to be celebrated, as a token of faith in the atonement of Christ, and of brotherly love.

10. That the keeping of the moral law as a rule of life, a conscientious and uniform attendance upon public and private worship, and an entire submission to the regular authority and discipline of the church, and observance of all its institutions, and whatever else may tend to promote the glory of God and the salvation of men, are duties which every Christian is under solemn obligation to perform.

11. That Jesus Christ will come the second time, when he will judge the world in righteousness; that there will be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust; and that he will receive the righteous into life eternal, but the wicked will be sent into endless punishment.

The protest presented against the admission of a synod whose relation to the Augsburg Confession was regarded as thus indeterminate, by the delegates from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, and a number from the Pittsburg Synod, New York Ministerium, Maryland, East Pennsylvania, English Ohio, Olive Branch, Illinois, Northern Illinois, and English Iowa synods, stated that the admission of the Franckean Synod was a violation of the constitution, since it was conceded that the synod had not complied with the constitutional requirements. The answer, prepared by a committee, affirmed that there was no violation of the constitution, since the Franckean Synod "has really, although not formally, complied," and "the constitution of the General Synod is indefinite in its requirements on this point." The delegates of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania presented a paper reciting the conditions upon which their synod had united with the General Synod in 1853, viz., that "should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require of our synod

assent to anything conflicting with the old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required to protest against such action, to withdraw from its sessions, and report to this body." As they regarded the action of the General Synod as unconstitutional, they felt themselves, by the terms of their appointment, obliged to withdraw, in order to report to their synod. However others may have regarded and represented it, they did not regard their act as severing the connection of the ministerium with the General Synod. "We did not dream," a subsequent report says, "that our synod, or any synod, would permit a delegation to take such an important step." The withdrawal from the General Synod, in their opinion, would require the formal action of the ministerium itself. Neither did they regard their act in withdrawing to report as recommending to their synod the severing of its connection with the General Synod. They believed it to be within the province of the ministerium to say whether or not, under the circumstances, it should remain or withdraw.

But the conservative element was yet to gain a most important advantage in what seemed the hour of its defeat. The feeling grew that the precedent established by the admission of the Franckean Synod, unless guarded by a more specific statement of the doctrinal standard in the constitution, would be susceptible of the greatest abuse, and decisive measures should be taken to remedy the evil. The withdrawal of the Pennsylvania delegates had also made an impression, and there was a widely felt desire to prevent the ministerium itself from withdrawing. This, it was hoped, could be accomplished by an amendment to the constitution which would be satisfactory to its mem-

bers. The amendment proposed, and afterward adopted by the vote of the synods, was as follows:

Article III., Section 3.	*Article as amended.*
All regularly constituted Lutheran synods holding the fundamental doctrines of the Bible as taught by our church, not now in connection with the General Synod, may at any time become associated with it, by adopting this constitution and sending delegates, etc.	All regularly constituted Lutheran synods, not now in connection with the General Synod, receiving and holding, with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God as contained in the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession, as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine Word, and of the faith of our church, founded upon that Word, may, at any time, become associated with the General Synod, by complying with the requisitions of this constitution and sending delegates, etc.

In addition to this, the main resolution of the Declaration of the Pittsburg Synod at Zelienople, in 1856,[1] was adopted, in which the alleged errors in the Augsburg Confession are denied and repudiated.

With this action, especially when it became manifest that the amendment to the constitution would be adopted by a sufficient number of synods, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was satisfied. Meeting the same month in which the sessions of the General Synod were held at York, it approved the course of its delegates in withdrawing to report, but deferred further action until the next year, as no convention of the General Synod would be held in the meantime. In 1865 it resolved to maintain its connection with the General Synod and to send a delegation to the next convention, because of its conviction

[1] See above, p. .

that the action of the General Synod, subsequent to the withdrawal of the delegation, was promotive "of the unity and purity of our beloved Zion"; but in so doing the ministerium reasserted the right, accorded its delegates on their admission in 1853, to withdraw and report whenever a violation of the constitution would seem to occur.

It is probable that if there had been no further cause of friction during the interim, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania would have participated in the organization at Fort Wayne in 1866, without conflict or objection, and the General Synod would have remained unbroken. But in the fall of 1864 the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia was established by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The idea of such an institution had been cherished ever since the days of Muhlenberg. The pastors of Zion's Church, Philadelphia, from Muhlenberg to Mann, had acted as theological preceptors of private students. Dr. C. F. Demme had gathered a library with reference to the proposed seminary. Dr. C. F. Schaeffer's efficient services at Gettysburg had not dissipated the hope of the ultimate establishment of a seminary either in Philadelphia or at Allentown for the training of German-American pastors. Rev. S. K. Brobst, the editor of the "Zeitschrift," was indefatigable in his efforts to have the hope realized. This was developed in a vigorous discussion at the meeting of the ministerium in 1859, at which Rev. B. Keller and Drs. Krotel and Passavant urged the desirability of a concentration of the strength of the church at Gettysburg, and succeeded in temporarily checking the movement. But the demand for German pastors was increasing above what Gettysburg could supply. It claimed the attention of the ministerium in the spring of 1864, one of the projects contemplated being to strengthen the force at Gettysburg. The events at York, however, induced some of those who

had been pleading for such union to feel favorably disposed, under certain contingencies, toward a new seminary. The time had come when the ministerium had to provide for the training of its candidates according to the confessional obligations which it demanded of them on ordination. The professors into whose care it intrusted them must hereafter be pledged to this position. One name, viz., that of Charles Porterfield Krauth, was upon many lips, as that of the most thoroughly trained Lutheran theologian in America, and there was a general desire that he should be placed in the professor's chair, as the exponent of the theology of the Lutheran confessions. His exhaustive articles in the "Lutheran and Missionary," of which he was editor-in-chief, 1861–67, ranked with the most scholarly defenses of the faith of the Augsburg Confession which had ever been made. If the chair at Gettysburg, vacated by the resignation of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, had been filled by his election, the ministerium would in all probability have felt that his presence was a guarantee that the future ministers would be furnished with the necessary defenses against all radical tendencies. When the election resulted differently, it was no antipathy to the professor-elect, who had done good service in the battle against the "Definite Platform," that turned the sentiment of a large portion of those who had hitherto been averse to another seminary toward the prompt execution of the project proposed but not acted upon at the regular sessions of the ministerium, and the enlargement of its scope beyond that of a seminary for German pastors. At a special meeting at Allentown, July 26 and 27, 1864, it was resolved to establish the seminary. Three professors *ordinarii* and two professors *extraordinarii* were elected. Of the professors *ordinarii*, Dr. C. F. Schaeffer was elected for the intermediate, or German-English, Dr. W. J. Mann for the

German, and Dr. C. P. Krauth for the English department. Drs. C. W. Schaeffer and G. F. Krotel were elected professors *extraordinarii*. Events moved more rapidly than had been anticipated. The seminary opened October 3, 1864. The high character and extensive influence of this strong faculty attracted large numbers of students. A building had to be provided, and new responsibilities in the support of professors and students met; but the churches of Pennsylvania and New York, and especially those of Philadelphia, responded most generously. Ninety years after it had first been propounded, the project of Muhlenberg was at last realized. The success which has attended the seminary has been due, not to its accidental location in a city, but, first, to its historical position on the very spot of the earliest struggles of the Lutheran Church in America, and as the heir of the labors and institutions of the founders of the church; secondly, to its geographical position in the very focus of the large German-American population of eastern Pennsylvania and New York City and its suburbs; and, thirdly and chiefly, to the fact that it has never wavered in its devotion to the Lutheran Church, and in expounding Lutheran doctrines with all clearness and decision.

Great as was the gain to the church, it was not surprising that the establishment of the seminary occasioned some feeling. The seminary of the General Synod was reduced by the withdrawal of students to the smallest number in its history. There was an acknowledged abruptness about the sudden removal of one of the professors from the old to the new seminary, which undoubtedly is greatly to be regretted. Many whose sympathies were entirely conservative were not prepared for the movement. It was too sudden. The successful efforts for the endowment of the new seminary, shown by the

beginning made in the chair provided for by Charles F. Norton, were met by corresponding efforts to endow the older institution. The new seminary lengthened the course to three years; so did the older seminary, which also increased the number of its professorships. When the directors of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania appeared in their usual place in the board of the seminary of the General Synod, they were informed that, by the establishment of a seminary of its own, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania had lost its right of representation.

The General Synod met at Fort Wayne, Ind., May 16, 1866. The delegation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania started thither fully expecting to participate in all the proceedings. When the time came for their credentials to be presented, the president (Rev. Dr. S. Sprecher) ordered that the synod be passed over, for the following reason:

> The chair regards the act of the delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod, by which they severed their practical relations with the General Synod, and withdrew from the partnership of the synods in the governing functions of the General Synod, as the act of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and that consequently that synod was out of practical union with the General Synod up to the adjournment of the last convention, and we cannot know officially what the action of that synod has been since, so she must be considered in that state of practical withdrawal fr m the governing functions of the General Synod, until the General Synod an receive the report of an act restoring her practical relations to the General Synod; and as no such report is offered, the chair cannot know any paper offered at this stage of the proceedings of the synod, as a certificate of delegation to this body.

When an appeal was made from this decision, the General Synod sustained the chair. The delegates of the Ministerium of New York, Pittsburg Synod, and English Synod of Ohio declined to participate in the election of officers that followed, because of what they regarded the irregularity of the organization. The purpose of the majority was not to exclude the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, but to compel its delegates to apply for readmission,

and then to readmit the ministerium, with the condition which the ministerium attached to its admission in 1853 annulled, or the request made that the ministerium should itself annul it. The right of delegates to withdraw and report to their synod when an act which seemed to them unconstitutional was passed, was no longer to be admitted. This was the point of contention during the days of debate that followed. The Pennsylvania delegation were firm in the position that, as they had been elected by their synod to participate in the organization, they could enter the General Synod only when their right so to do had been formally approved by the body. In reply to a paper transmitted them by the General Synod, making an historical statement concerning the past relations between the two bodies, and requesting them "to waive what may seem to them an irregular organization," a long answer was prepared and read upon the floor of the General Synod by Dr. G. F. Krotel, closing with the statement:

> Whatever impression our course may have made upon some minds, and whatever rumors may have been circulated in reference to factious and schismatic movements of the Synod of Pennsylvania, we can say with a good conscience that we have not sought division, but have waited for union and are ready to coöperate in the General Synod, provided:
>
> That this body shall now declare that the Synod of Pennsylvania had, as it claimed to have, the constitutional right to be represented before the election of officers and to take part in it, and might now justly claim the right of casting its vote.
>
> If the convention will so declare, we are perfectly willing to waive the right of voting, will acquiesce in the present organization, and will take our seats in this body, equals among equals.

This paper was signed by Drs. J. A. Seiss, C. P. Krauth, G. F. Krotel, C. W. Schaeffer, S. K. Brobst, S. Laird, and Messrs. L. L. Haupt, Henry Lehman, C. F. Norton, and Chas. A. Heinitsch. Dr. B. M. Schmucker and Mr. C. Pretz of the delegation had already left Fort Wayne.

The final action of the General Synod, after a long dis-

cussion, was the adoption, by a vote of seventy-six to thirty-two, of a resolution offered by Dr. Joel Swartz:

> That after hearing the response of the delegates of the Pennsylvania Synod, we cannot conscientiously recede from the action taken by this body, believing, after full and careful deliberation, said action to have been regular and constitutional; but that we reaffirm our readiness to receive the delegates of said synod, as soon as they present their credentials in due form.

On retiring from the church, after the passage of this resolution, Dr. Seiss, as chairman of the delegation, stated that "the delegates distinctly declare that their act in no sense or degree affects the relations of the Pennsylvania Synod to the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States"; and the president, Dr. J. A. Brown, replied that "this body has not decided at any time that the Pennsylvania Synod was out of the General Synod." A few weeks afterward, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, at its one hundred and nineteenth convention, at Lancaster, declared its connection with the General Synod dissolved, adding to the unjust deprival of rights, as a reason for such dissolution, "the conviction that the task of uniting the conflicting elements in the General Synod has become hopeless."

The process of disintegration continued. The New York Ministerium, Pittsburg Synod, English Synod of Ohio, Illinois, Minnesota, and Texas synods followed. The Texas had been the only Southern synod remaining, its exclusively German character having separated it from the other Southern synods. The General Synod had lost about half of its strength. At its next convention (1868) its reports show a total of 86,198 communicants and 590 ministers. Instead of comprising two thirds of the Lutherans in America, as it did in 1860, it numbered in 1868 only one fourth, the great growth of the Missouri and other

synods, that never were in the General Synod, being a factor that should not be overlooked.

There was a disintegration of synods as well as of the General Synod. A number of the pastors and congregations of the New York Ministerium left that body when it left the General Synod, and formed the New York Synod, which was assigned the place on the roll of the General Synod previously occupied by the ministerium. A minority of the Illinois formed the Central Illinois Synod. When, in 1867, the Pittsburg Synod, by a vote of sixty-three to twenty-one, adopted the "Fundamental Principles of Faith" proposed for the General Council, ten pastors and seven lay delegates withdrew, upon the ground that by such action the constitution of the synod was violated, and, with a few additions, afterward claimed the name and were recognized by the General Synod as the Pittsburg Synod. Congregations were also changing their relations. While the events were in progress that culminated at Fort Wayne, a number of the English Lutheran congregations in Philadelphia and the neighborhood (St. Mark's, St. John's, St. Luke's, Trinity) entered the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The church in which the battle had been fought entered the Pittsburg Synod of the General Council. Other churches passed from the Ministerium of Pennsylvania into the East Pennsylvania Synod, congregations as a rule following the inclination of pastors. Elsewhere, congregations were divided, and troublesome and expensive lawsuits begun by rival claimants for the property (Pittsburg, Leechburg, Williamsport, Allentown).

The continuance of coöperation in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, ceased in 1867, when Muhlenberg College at Allentown, Pa., was founded, with Dr. F. A. Muhlenberg as its first

president. The Publication Society lost from its board many who had hitherto been most active in its interests. The separation was far more complete than during thirty years before 1853, when the mother-synod was not represented in the General Synod.

Looking back at the contest at Fort Wayne, after an interval of nearly a generation, it seems at first sight to have been one mainly of parliamentary fencing. But back of this there were certain principles at stake. One of these was as to the power and sphere of the general body in its relation to the district synods. Two conceptions of church polity characterized the two sides. The majority at Fort Wayne stood for a centralization of power in the General Synod. As the ultimate court of appeal, its decision was to be final, and to this decision the district synods were to submit. According to the conception of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, a general church organization was only a conference of a mainly advisory character, whose decisions required the ratification of the synods united in the body. The lessons of the war were fresh. The increased centralization of power in the national government gained in that conflict, and the weakening of the theory of States' rights, seemed to give encouragement to an application of the principle within the ecclesiastical sphere. The Ministerium of Pennsylvania, always jealous of its rights, would have speedily reversed the concessions of its delegates, had they in any way yielded on this point. The life of the old synod could not be merged or lost in that of any general organization. It was ready harmoniously to coöperate with other synods in a general body, provided that body would not attempt to interfere with the independent synodical development of the ministerium. The result, within the General Synod, of the events at Fort Wayne was the weakening of the synodical and the

strengthening of the general organization. From that time the district synods have little significance, and the interest is almost entirely centered in the General Synod. When compared with the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, the General Synod is one synod, the district synods corresponding to the conferences of the mother-synod. The difference of theory as to the relations of the General Synod to its districts also involves a different conception of the relations of the synods to the congregations. The doctrinal differences with respect to the relation to the Augsburg Confession bore a very important relation to the controversy. But this issue was not separated from that pertaining to church government, and the mingling of the two questions seriously affected the result. Many regarded the real conflict to be concerning an insubordinate synod which refused to recognize the higher authority of the general organization, and which, like the seceded States, they thought, should be coerced into due respect for those placed over it. But neither in founding the General Synod nor in reëntering it did the ministerium have any such conception of the powers of a general organization.

It has been from a very early period the policy of the General Synod to increase its power by encouraging the multiplication of small synods. This it has done by denying to the larger synods the same ratio of representation as is allowed the smaller synods. Were the Ministerium of Pennsylvania with its 115,000 communicants to-day united with the General Synod, it would be allowed only nine delegates of each rank, while the other synods now in the body with a communicant membership of only 38,000 more were represented at the last convention by one hundred and seven clerical, and were entitled to as many lay, delegates. This results in numerous small synods, several of them

having fewer communicants than some of the parishes of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. When the great hold which the mother-synod, with its history of nearly a century and a quarter back of it, had upon its congregations, and the relatively little impression which the comparatively young general body, in the short period of their connection with it, had made upon them are considered, and when to this is added that even among the ministers there had been all along a very large minority averse to the General Synod, and that those sent as delegates were, as a rule, the warm friends of the General Synod, contending for it as earnestly in the ministerium as they had to contend for the rights of the ministerium on the floor of the General Synod, it can be seen that, even if the issue at Fort Wayne had been deferred, this disproportion would not have been long acquiesced in. It is not at all probable that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania would have been content to divide into eight or ten synods, and surrender its historical advantages, and its own modes of church operations—the outgrowth of an experience three times as long as that of the general body—for the purpose of gaining proportionate representation. The most that could have been anticipated would have been a mere tolerance of the union, with general apathy as to its results. To-day the Ministerium of Pennsylvania has a much stronger hold upon its people than the General Council has. Thirty years ago the General Synod represented to them still less, because of the widespread but silent dissatisfaction with the union formed by a very small majority in 1853.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION (1867–77).

No sooner had the separation been effected than a movement toward a new union was found to have begun. No one entertained the thought of permanent isolation. The synods which held to a strict interpretation of the Augsburg Confession, and which had kept aloof from the General Synod because of its alleged indeterminate position, might, it was thought, if united into an organization, yet control the future of the entire church in America. The conflict of the ministerium had been watched with the deepest interest. Assurances of sympathy came from many directions. During the sessions of the General Synod a number of the delegates from Pennsylvania had received the communion from Dr. Sihler, of the Missouri Synod. There was doubtless an earnest, but at the same time a vague, desire for the union of all who were clear in the confession of the distinctively Lutheran faith.

When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania passed resolutions approving the course of its delegates at Fort Wayne, it added one providing for a committee to correspond with other Lutheran synods with reference to the calling of a convention for the organization of a general ecclesiastical body, "on a truly Lutheran basis." The invitation was afterward ordered to be sent "to all Evangelical Lutheran synods, ministers, and congregations in the United States and Canadas which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession."

In response to this invitation, a convention assembled in Trinity Church, Reading, December 12–14, 1866. Thirteen synods were represented. Five (Pennsylvania, English Ohio, New York, Pittsburg, and Minnesota) had been in the General Synod. The Joint Synod of Ohio, as well as its English District Synod, the Wisconsin, Michigan, German Iowa, Canada, Norwegian, and even the Missouri Synod, had sent delegates. Drs. Walther and Sihler, of the Missouri Synod, sent a friendly communication. The opening sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Loy, of the Joint Synod of Ohio. Rev. G. Bassler, of the Pittsburg Synod, presided. The chief business of the convention was the discussion and adoption of theses prepared by Dr. C. P. Krauth, setting forth the fundamental principles of faith and church polity as the basis of the proposed organization. These theses were unanimously adopted. Their adoption by a synod was made an indispensable requisite for its admission into the proposed body. The principles thus unanimously approved by the representatives of the majority of Lutherans in this country, and which are presupposed in a union with the General Council, are as follows:

PRINCIPLES OF FAITH AND CHURCH POLITY.

Of Faith.

I. There must be and abide through all time one holy Christian Church, which is the assembly of all believers, among whom the gospel is purely preached, and the holy sacraments are administered, as the gospel demands.

To the true unity of the church it is sufficient that there be agreement touching the doctrine of the gospel, that it be preached in one accord, in its pure sense, and that the sacraments be administered conformably to God's Word.

II. The true unity of a particular church, in virtue of which men are truly members of one and the same church, and by which any church abides in real identity, and is entitled to a continuation of her name, is unity in doctrine and faith and in the sacraments, to wit: that she continues to teach and to set

forth, and that her true members embrace from the heart, and use, the articles of faith and the sacraments as they were held and administered when the church came into distinctive being and received a distinctive name.

III. The unity of the church is witnessed to, and made manifest in, the solemn, public, and official confessions which are set forth, to wit: the generic unity of the Christian Church in the general creeds, and the specific unity of pure parts of the Christian Church in their specific creeds; one chief object of both classes of which creeds is, that Christians who are in the unity of faith may know each other as such, and may have a visible bond of fellowship.

IV. That confessions may be such a testimony of unity and bond of union, they must be accepted in every statement of doctrine in their own true, native, original, and only sense. Those who set them forth and subscribe them must not only agree to use the same words, but must use and understand those words in one and the same sense.

V. The unity of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as a portion of the holy Christian Church, depends upon her abiding in one and the same faith, in confessing which she obtained her distinctive being and name, her political recognition, and her history.

VI. The Unaltered Augsburg Confession is by preëminence the confession of that faith. The acceptance of its doctrines and the avowal of them without equivocation or mental reservation make, mark, and identify that church, which alone in the true, original, historical, and honest sense of the term is the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

VII. The only churches, therefore, of any land, which are properly in the unity of that communion, and by consequence entitled to its name, Evangelical Lutheran, are those which sincerely hold and truthfully confess the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession.

VIII. We accept and acknowledge the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the only rule. We accept its statements of truth as in perfect accordance with the canonical Scriptures; we reject the errors it condemns, and believe that all which it commits to the liberty of the church of right belongs to that liberty.

IX. In thus formally accepting and acknowledging the Unaltered Augsburg Confession we declare our conviction that the other confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, inasmuch as they set forth none other than its system of doctrine and articles of faith, are of necessity pure and Scriptural. Preëminent among such accordant, pure, and Scriptural statements of doctrine, by their intrinsic excellence, by the great and necessary ends for which they were prepared, by their historical position, and by the general judgment of the church, are these: the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and the Formula of Concord; all of which are, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in the perfect harmony of one and the same Scriptural faith.

Of Ecclesiastical Power and Church Government.

I. All power in the church belongs primarily, properly, and exclusively to our Lord Jesus Christ, "true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and true man, born of the Virgin Mary," Mediator between God and men, and Supreme Head of the church. This supreme and direct power is not delegated to any man or body of men upon earth.

II. All just power exercised by the church has been committed to her for the furtherance of the gospel, through the Word and sacraments, is conditioned by this end, and is derivative and pertains to her as the servant of Jesus Christ.

The church, therefore, has no power to bind the conscience, except as she truly teaches what her Lord teaches, and faithfully commands what he has charged her to command.

III. The absolute directory of the will of Christ is the Word of God, the canonical Scriptures, interpreted in accordance with the "mind of the Spirit," by which Scriptures the church is to be guided in every decision. She may set forth no article of faith which is not taught by the very letter of God's Word, or derived by just and necessary inference from it, and her liberty concerns those things only which are left free by the letter and spirit of God's Word.

IV. The primary bodies through which the power is normally exercised, which Christ commits derivatively and ministerially to his church on earth, are the congregations. The congregation, in the normal state, is neither the pastor without the people, nor the people without the pastor.

V. In congregations exists the right of representation. In addition to the pastor, who by their voluntary election is already *ex officio* their representative, the people have the right to choose representatives from their own number to act for them, under such constitutional limitations as the congregation approves.

VI. The representatives of congregations thus convened in synod, and acting in accordance with those conditions of mutual congregational compact which are called a constitution, are for the ends, and with the limitations defined in it, representatively, the congregations themselves.

A free, Scriptural general council or synod, chosen by the church, is, within the metes and bounds fixed by the church which chooses it, representatively that church itself; and in this case is applicable to the language of the Appendix to the Smalcald Articles: "The judgments of synods are the judgments of the church."

VII. The congregations representatively constituting the various district synods may elect delegates through those synods to represent themselves in a more general body, all decisions of which, when made in conformity with the solemn compact of the constitution, bind, so far as the terms of mutual agreement make them binding, those congregations which consent, and continue to consent, to be represented in that general body.

VIII. If the final decision of any general body thus constituted shall seem to any synod within it in conflict with the faith, involving violation of the rights of conscience, it is the duty of that synod to take such steps as shall be needed to prevent a compromise on its part with error. To this end it may withdraw itself from relations which make it responsible for departure from the faith of the gospel, or for an equivocal attitude toward it. Such steps should not be taken on any but well-defined grounds of conscience, not on mere suspicion, nor until prayerful, earnest, and repeated efforts to correct the wrong have proved useless, and no remedy remains but withdrawal.

IX. The obligation under which congregations consent to place themselves to conform to the decisions of synods does not rest on any assumption that synods are infallible, but on the supposition that the decisions have been so guarded by wise constitutional provisions as to create a higher moral probability of their being true and rightful than the decisions in conflict with them which may be made by single congregations or individuals. All final decisions should be guarded with the utmost care, so that they shall in no case claim without just grounds to be the judgment of those congregations in whose name and by whose authority they are made; in the absence of which just grounds they are null and void.

X. In the formation of a general body the synods may know and deal with each other only as synods. In such case the official record is to be accepted as evidence of the doctrinal position of each synod, and of the principles for which alone the other synods become responsible by connection with it.

XI. The leading objects for which synods should be organized are:

1. The maintenance and diffusion of sound doctrine, as the same is taught in God's Word and confessed in the authorized standards of the church.

2. When controversies arise in regard to articles of faith, to decide them in accordance with God's Word and the pure confessions of that Word.

3. That proper regulation of the human externals of worship, that the same, in character and administration, may be in keeping with the spirit of the New Testament and with the liberty of the church, and may edify the body of Christ.

4. The maintenance of pure discipline, to the fostering of holiness and fidelity in the ministry and people.

5. The devising and executing of wise and Scriptural counsels and plans for carrying on the work of the church in every department of beneficent labor for the souls and bodies of men, at home and abroad.

6. All these things are to be done that the saving power of the gospel may be realized, that good order may be maintained, and that all unsoundness in faith and life may be averted, that God may be glorified, and that Christ our King may rule in a pure, peaceful, and active church.

Thirteen synods were represented when, on November 20, 1867, the first convention of the General Council as-

sembled at Fort Wayne, Ind., in the church where the General Synod had held its sessions the preceding year. They were: Pennsylvania, New York, English Ohio, Pittsburg, Wisconsin, German Iowa, English District of Ohio, Michigan, Scandinavian Augustana, Minnesota, Canada, Illinois, and Joint Synod of Ohio. Two of these synods stood in a peculiar relation to the new body. The Joint Synod of Ohio had not adopted the proposed constitution, while the delegates of the Iowa Synod, before the sessions were ended, felt themselves constrained to declare that they did not regard their synod ready to enter into full connection with the General Council. A provision, however, was introduced into the constitution by which the representatives of synods adopting the "Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity" could have the privilege of debate. For nearly twenty years the Synod of Iowa availed itself of this privilege. The difficulties that interfered with the full union of these synods occasioned the subsequent withdrawal of others, and have continued to agitate the council throughout its entire history. They are indicated in the paper presented at the first convention, by the representatives of the Joint Synod of Ohio, introducing the noted "four points." These are the questions concerning chiliasm, secret societies, pulpit and altar fellowship. The first point was not urged by Iowa. On this subject it had had its controversy with Missouri. The synods that urged the question upon the General Council did so under the constraint placed upon them by their relations to Missouri. Dr. J. A. Seiss, of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, had written learnedly and extensively on eschatological subjects, and, with many eminent theologians of the Lutheran Church, had taught that the advent of Christ would be pre-millennial; and it was well known that there were others who shared in this

opinion. It had been maintained that Art. XVII. of the Augsburg Confession expressly rejected all such teaching, and it, therefore, could not be admitted. On the other hand, it was urged that the clear purpose of the article was to counteract certain extravagances of contemporary errorists, and that it was not applicable to other forms of chiliasm. After the Pittsburg Declaration of 1868—"The General Council has neither had, nor would consent to have, fellowship with any synod which tolerates the 'Jewish opinions' or chiliastic opinions condemned in the seventeenth article of the Augsburg Confession"—the council has not been disturbed on this topic.

The second question, concerning "secret societies," was much more troublesome. It did not properly belong to the sphere of faith, but to that of church discipline. The charge was made that in congregations belonging to synods in the General Council there were members of organizations that in their worship denied Christ, imposed oaths contrary to God's Word, and interfered with the law of Christian benevolence as established in the church; and the demand was made that rigid discipline be exercised upon such members, absolutely excluding from communion all who persisted in retaining membership in such societies. This demand was not one peculiar to some Lutherans. It is enforced with all strictness by the United Presbyterians, and some other Presbyterian bodies. In answer to the request that the General Council give its testimony on this subject, the answer was made in 1868:

1. Though mere secrecy in association be not in itself immoral, yet as it is so easily susceptible of abuse, and in its abuse may work, as it has often worked, great mischief in family, church, and state, we earnestly beseech all good men to ponder the question whether the benefits they believe to be

connected with secret societies might not be equally reached in modes not liable to the same abuse.

2. Any and all societies for moral and religious ends which do not rest on the supreme authority of God's holy Word as contained in the Old and New Testaments, which do not recognize our Lord Jesus Christ as the true God and the only Mediator between God and man, which teach doctrines or have usages or forms of worship condemned in God's Word and in the confessions of his church, which assume to themselves what God has given to his church and its ministers, which require undefined obligations to be assumed by oath, are unchristian, and we solemnly warn our members and ministers against all fellowship with, or connivance at, associations which have this character.

3. All connection with infidel and immoral associations we consider as requiring the exercise of prompt and decisive discipline, and, after faithful and patient monition and teaching from God's Word, the cutting off the persistent and obstinate offender from the communion of the church, until he abandons them and shows a true repentance.

Especially has the Swedish Augustana Synod enforced church discipline upon this point. But this synod had to deal with a new population in this country, while the older synods are embarrassed by the fact that for generations there was no warning given by the Lutheran Church against irreligious societies, and the encouragement given them by pastors as well as members of some other religious communions readily spread among those in our own churches who did not fully understand their character. Even the Missouri Synod, with its emphatic testimony against them, has found it best to temper its zeal with discretion.[1] Under the testimony the General Council has given, the interest in these societies and the number of their members in the churches has greatly decreased. Absolute renunciation of such connections is a condition of admission into most, if not all, synods and theological seminaries. Conflicts within the Joint Synod of Ohio, prior to the formation of the General Council, because of the membership of some pastors in these societies, explain

[1] "Lutheran Church Review," vol. ix., p. 240.

partially the prominence which this question assumed at Fort Wayne and Pittsburg.

The practice, hitherto customary in the Eastern synods, that the clerical members preach in the pulpits of other churches during the sessions of the synod, was not regarded with favor by the representatives of the Western synods. They held it to be fellowship with error, and to indicate a lack of earnestness in holding and maintaining the confessional distinction. It implied, they thought, the obligation to suppress in preaching all statements of doctrine conflicting with the confessions of the congregations to which the Lutheran pastor preached. It recognized these congregations as Christian churches in a sense that they were not. The only circumstance, some held, under which a Lutheran minister could preach consistently in a non-Lutheran pulpit, would be when he would undertake to expose and attack the errors he believed to be taught in the regular preaching from that pulpit. They urged that it was dishonorable to accept an invitation to preach without being willing to return the compliment, unless a statement to this effect were made at the time. This position the American-born pastors and the Swedes and some of the Germans could not absolutely concede. They acknowledged the truth lying at the basis of the demands, but could not regard the inferences of fellowship or indifference to error, etc., as valid. Hence the declaration at Pittsburg was:

"Lutheran ministers may properly preach wherever there is an opening in the pulpit of other churches, unless the circumstances imply, or seem to imply, a fellowship with error or schism, or a restriction on the unreserved expression of the whole counsel of God."

What those circumstances are have necessarily to be left, as they arise, to the conscientious judgment of pastors

when called to meet such appointments. The other side of "Exchange of Pulpits" was met by affirming that "no man shall be admitted to our pulpits, whether of the Lutheran name or of any other, of whom there is just reason to doubt whether he will preach the pure truth of God's Word as taught in the confessions of our Church."

The so-called "General Invitation" to the holy communion, which had entered some of the English Lutheran liturgies, beginning with that of the New York Ministerium of 1814, was in many respects not in harmony with Lutheran principles. It was in direct violation of the Lutheran practice, which provided that only those should commune who had been previously at the confessional service or the preparatory service. It made those desiring to commune the judge of their own fitness for the communion, or of the evangelical character of the denomination whence they came. It entirely removed the church's opportunity and right to judge who should approach her altars. It undermined church authority and church discipline. It proclaimed the indifference of the pastor and congregation to the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper held by the communicant. In antagonizing the abuses connected with this practice, the right wing demanded that only those should be admitted to the Holy Supper who were members of Lutheran churches. The denial of the Lord's Supper, they urged, in no way implied the denial of the Christian character of those not admitted. It only meant that their relation to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper was not such as would give the assurance that they would receive the promised benefit from it. On this topic, the official action decides that heretics and fundamental errorists are to be excluded, that it is the duty of the pastor to examine those who apply for the communion, that in rejecting errors the Lutheran Church does not condemn

those who err from simplicity, but that it teaches that "among those who are upon the true foundation, there are many weak ones who have built upon the foundation perishing stubble."

This statement of principles did not satisfy. Ohio's quasi-relation ceased after the first meeting. Wisconsin withdrew after the second, and Minnesota and Illinois after the fourth meeting. Iowa kept its place on the floor, and with great ability urged the strictest confessional position, through the brothers Drs. Sigismund and Gottfried Fritschel, the former being rarely absent from the sessions. Michigan continued its protest against any allowance of exceptions to the principle involved, until it left the General Council in 1887. From the New York Ministerium there came also a strong pressure for stricter and more definite regulations. There was no little irritation, as well as dissatisfaction, on the part of many Americans, at this persistent agitation, implying, as they felt, a distrust of the clear affirmations that had already been made. At Akron, in 1872, in the course of some remarks upon the subject, Dr. Krauth incidentally declared: "The rule is: Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only; Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only." As it was declared that the indorsement of this statement by the General Council would be all that was desired, it was adopted, and is known as the Akron Declaration, with the following additions, also proposed by Dr. Krauth: "The exceptions to the rule belong to the sphere of privilege, not of right. The determination of the exceptions is to be made in consonance with these principles by the conscientious judgment of pastors, as the cases arise." This was not offered as a statement which the mover regarded necessary, beyond what had been previously adopted, but only to meet the demands

of those clamoring for an additional declaration. It attracted comparatively little attention, since it was simply a series of truisms which every one acknowledged. It is manifestly the duty of every church, and of that church alone, to decide upon the qualifications of those who are to preach in its pulpits and commune at its altars. But even this, it was urged, was too indefinite.

At Galesburg, Ill., in 1875, the Akron Declaration was reaffirmed with a defining clause: "The rule which accords with the Word of God and the confessions of our church." There was no opposition to its adoption. But after the adjournment of the council a controversy arose. The secular and a large portion of the religious press throughout the country spread far and wide the reports of the great illiberality of the General Council in assuming that Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only, etc. On the other hand, the more strict constructionists triumphed over the victory which they affirmed had been gained by the insertion of the additional clause at Galesburg, asserting that if the rule "accorded with the Word of God," no exceptions whatever were admissible. The other side maintained that the General Council did not so mean, that there was no intention to reconsider and annul the other sentences of the Akron Declaration, and consequently that the qualifying clause belonged also to them; so that both the rule and the principle of exceptions accorded with the Word of God. The brief sentence, which at first struck the ear so forcibly, was found to be involved in ambiguities. The word "rule" was understood, on the one hand, to assert legislatively what should be done, but was defined by the author of the statement as meaning "morally what ought to be held as true," "appealing to conscience, not to disciplinary authority." It was meant to be "not governmental, but educational." The word

"Lutheran" was variously understood as implying "holding to the Lutheran faith," or "in connection with a Lutheran congregation," or both. A strict constructionist, maintaining that the rule excluded all exceptions, would find the justification of a seeming exception in the fact that it was in the interest of one who in reality was a Lutheran, even though his relations might seem to deny it. When the rule came before the synods for action, there was much diversity manifested, both in its interpretation and in the action concerning it which was taken. When this was reported to the General Council, the result was that the president (Dr. Krauth) was instructed to prepare theses for presentation to the convention in Philadelphia, in 1877. This he did with exhaustive fullness, one hundred and five theses having been offered, the discussion of the first two of which occupied the most of the time of the meeting. The latest deliverance of the council on the subject was at Pittsburg, in 1889:

Inasmuch as the General Council has never annulled, rescinded, or reconsidered the declarations made at Akron, O., in the year 1872, they still remain, in all their parts and provisions, the action and rule of the General Council. All subsequent action of the General Council is to be determined according to the principles there determined and settled. The true purport and effect of the action at Galesburg was to add to the declaration at Akron a statement of the source of the rule, and that, in all other respects, that declaration in all its parts was left unchanged. The present position of the General Council is to be understood and interpreted in such manner that neither the amendment and further explanation at Galesburg, nor the original action at Akron, be overlooked or ignored; both of which remain in full force and mutually interpret and supplement one another.

While these discussions were in progress, the General Council was actively engaged in work looking toward the thorough reorganization of the churches upon the confessional basis of the Lutheran Church. At the Reading convention in 1866, before the organization of the council, a committee was appointed to coöperate with one of

the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that had been engaged in the preparation of the English Church Book; and another committee was appointed to prepare a German hymn-book. The ultimate result of their labors was first the English Church Book of 1868, which effected a great change in the worship of the church, not only within, but also outside, the General Council. The hymnological part was prepared by Dr. B. M. Schmucker and Rev. F. M. Bird, and revised by a larger committee. The liturgical portion had the services chiefly of Dr. B. M. Schmucker, Rev. A. T. Geissenhainer, Drs. Krauth, Seiss, C. W. Schaeffer, and Krotel. This was followed in 1877 by the German Church Book ("Kirchenbuch"), a work whose high literary and scientific rank has obtained due recognition from the best liturgical critics in Germany. It had to be constructed by the thorough study of the sources of hymnology and liturgics, and is a monument to the learning and taste of Drs. A. Spaeth, B. M. Schmucker, S. Fritschel, and E. F. Moldenke. One of its peculiar merits is the complete translation, presented for the first time, of the ancient church collects. The last edition of Löhe's "Agende," edited by Pastor Deinzer, and the "Allgemeines Gebetbuch" of Leipzig (published by the Lutheran General Conference in Germany), have freely appropriated, with proper acknowledgment, much that is contained in this book. Nevertheless, the "Kirchenbuch" had to work its way against much opposition. Many favorite hymns were ruled out by the high standard which the committee adopted. It was alleged that the archaisms of some of the hymns of the sixteenth century disqualified them for use at the present day. While among congregations composed largely of northern Germans its ample liturgical services occasioned no difficulty, it encountered much opposition among southern Germans,

especially among those from Würtemberg, where, from the period of the Reformation, there has been a lack of liturgical interest. The demand for the necessary musical material for the proper rendering of the service called forth the books of Miss Krauth ("The Church Book with Music") and Dr. Seiss ("Church Song") for the English, and of Hon. J. Endlich for the German service. A beginning was made in the reformation of the worship of the Sunday-school by the publication of a book in harmony with the spirit and services of the Church Book, edited by Dr. Seiss.

A constitution for congregations, which might be universally adopted or serve as the model throughout the General Council, was prepared and considered during various conventions, until its final adoption at Zanesville, O., in 1879. As a preliminary principle, the question of the lay eldership was discussed, and decided to be without Scriptural warrant. There has been much dissent in the synods concerning some of its provisions; but the General Council has not seen fit to make any amendments, as congregations are at liberty, if they see fit, to adapt its provisions to their circumstances, provided this be done without violation of their confessional position.

The Pennsylvania, New York, and Pittsburg synods kept their own home missionary operations separate throughout the entire period of their connection with the General Synod. This enabled them to prosecute and develop the work without interruption when the break occurred. The home mission work of the General Council has been mainly inter-synodical, while that of the General Synod is entirely in the hands of the general organization. The general home mission work of the council has been limited to the planting of congregations outside of the boundaries of its synods, or where the

synods have been unable, for financial or other reasons, to make the necessary provision.

Before their separation from the General Synod, the New York and Pennsylvania synods had been coöperating in the support of an immigrant mission at Castle Garden, New York, for the care of immigrants from Europe as they arrived, and giving them proper direction and advice in finding homes or employment in America. This was ultimately transferred into the hands of the General Council, and its influence greatly increased by the founding of an Emigrant House, of which Rev. W. Berkemeier, to whose exertions its erection is largely due, has been for a score of years the superintendent. For some time the Missouri Synod coöperated in the work, but at last regarded a separate institution necessary.

The foreign missions of the General Council have as their founder the founder of the entire foreign mission work of the Lutheran Church in America. We have already learned how Rev. C. F. Heyer had returned to America from India in 1857, thinking that, as old age was rapidly approaching, his days of efficient service were past. We have learned also how soon he found that it was impossible to be inactive. We have traced his course amidst the severe cold of Minnesota, and have noted that, in a few years, the Synod of Minnesota came into existence as the result of his unremitting labors. He was the delegate of that synod to the General Synod at York and at Fort Wayne. He represented it in the convention at Reading, Pa., and again at Fort Wayne, where he became one of the founders of the General Council. Once more he believed the days of rest had come. Retiring from active service, he was spending some time in Germany, when he incidentally learned that a portion of the mission-field in India was about being transferred by the commit-

tee of the General Synod to the Church Missionary Society. It was the Rajahmundry and Samulcotta territory, which had been given in 1850 to the General Synod, under certain conditions, by the North German Missionary Society, and where Valett, Heise, and Gröning had faithfully labored. The same issue was repeated which faced Rhenius when his heroic stand against the requirements of the Church of England had awakened Heyer's interest before his first trip to India. He lost no time, but immediately took passage for America. He reached this country just in time for the meeting of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, in Trinity Church, Reading, in June, 1869, where the appearance of the veteran missionary, short in stature, with white locks reaching almost to his shoulders, and with his agile movements and rapid speech, at once aroused attention and enkindled enthusiasm. He had brought with him Mr. H. C. Schmidt, a candidate for ordination and the foreign mission-field, ready to go forth just as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. He urged that the ministerium which had sent him out to begin American Lutheran foreign missions in 1842 intervene to arrest the transfer, and, if it were not too late, again assume the responsibility of their support He would plead with the General Synod's board and with the Church Missionary Society, and, although nearly seventy-seven years old, would himself go to India and reorganize the work. The question was asked how soon he would be prepared to start on the journey of twelve thousand miles. Raising his valise from the floor by his side, he said, "I am ready to go now." His wish was accomplished. Everywhere he swept opposition before him. The mission had been transferred seven months before he reached India, but the Church Missionary Society could not deny the claims which he urged, and cheerfully relinquished the

rights they had acquired. He left New York August 31, 1869, and reached Guntur November 24th, having spent a week on his way in the Palnaud. The astonishment and delight of the older native Christians at the return of the pioneer missionary repaid him for the fatigue and trials of the way. The work which he had started in the Palnaud had increased beyond his expectations. "It has sometimes been asserted," he writes, "that the mission enterprise in India has proved a failure, but this cannot be said of the Palnaud. The number of baptized is five hundred. The work is spreading from village to village. . . . Bonifacius himself could not have been received more joyfully and respectfully by his German converts than the native Christians received their old missionary, who had unexpectedly come to visit them." "We rejoiced together, and found abundant cause to exclaim, 'What great things has the Lord done for us!'" He found that the mission had received scarcely any attention from the Church Society during the seven months of its tenure, and that the prospect of relief from that source had not been promising. The statement published by the Bishop of Madras in October, 1869, concerning the remarkable progress that had been made in the Tinnevelly district and at Palamcotta fell into his hands. He sent it to America for publication, with the remark that "no mention is made of Rhenius, yet to this faithful missionary's labors, in a great measure, under God, the great results related in the address may be ascribed."

Besides establishing the confidence of the English residents of Rajahmundry in the mission, reorganizing the mission schools and increasing their number, directing the work of the native catechists, and preaching, he began the translation of the Church Book of the General Council into Telugu. In February, 1870, he was joined by Rev. C. F. Becker, who died three months later; on August 4, by

Rev. H. C. Schmidt, who still labors with great efficiency; and in January, 1871, by Rev. I. K. Paulsen.

Before Dr. Heyer had reached India, the General Council had assumed the responsibility for the mission, the action of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania having been only a temporary arrangement until the meeting of the council. The field it had undertaken to cultivate is thus described in the report for 1871: "The Telugu country contains thirteen millions of inhabitants. In the Godavery or Rajahmundry district, with six thousand square miles and a million inhabitants, there are besides ourselves only two missionaries (Plymouth Brethren) at Nursapur. The nearest mission is that of the Church Missionary Society at Ellore, one hundred and twenty miles distant." The entire resources which the veteran missionary had found there with which to recommence the work were: at Rajahmundry, a catechist, a schoolmaster, and dilapidated buildings; ten miles distant, in Moramunda, a schoolhouse, a catechist, and teachers; in Metta, twelve miles from Rajahmundry, only a teacher, with a few children. But even with this destitution, he longed for the transfer to the General Council of the work in the Palnaud, which he had begun twenty years before, where the field was most promising,[1] and where the General Synod, for the time, was unable to supply the demand.

When the presence of the two young missionaries, Schmidt and Paulsen, in their posts, early in 1871, relieved him of his responsibility, he returned to America, having accomplished the task for which he had been commissioned, and having infused throughout the whole Lutheran

[1] "If every missionary in India were privileged to baptize in like proportions, it would not require many years until all India would be Christianized. But who is to attend to the poor people in the Palnaud?"—Dr. Heyer to committee, December 31, 1870.

Church in America a new interest in the work in India. In 1872 he became resident chaplain of the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, and was actively engaged, almost to his death, in manifold ministerial labors. He died in the seminary, November 14, 1873, aged eighty years and nine months. During the last year of his life he began, in a clear and firm hand, to write the history of the seminary, to whose interests he was devoted. The biography of this remarkable man remains to be written. During his ministerial career the number of Lutheran ministers in this country grew from one hundred and twenty to over twenty-two hundred. The influence of his presence in the seminary was felt in the foreign missionaries who, within a few years, entered the field from among its students (Carlson, Artman, Dietrich), and in the Father Heyer Missionary Society, which still maintains its existence.

New educational institutions were founded and the provisions of others liberally enlarged during this era. We have noticed the establishment of Muhlenberg College, Allentown. A sister college, not a rival, came into existence in 1870 upon the territory of the Pittsburg Synod. A Louis Thiel, a humble and devout layman of Allegheny, purchased a building at Phillipsburg, Beaver County, Pa., the former home of a schism from the Economites under Count de Leon, and established there, in 1866, under the advice and superintendency of Rev. Dr. Passavant, an academy known as Thiel Hall. Its first principal was Rev. E. F. Giese, who was succeeded in 1868 by the author of this book. On his resignation, to accept a professorship in Pennsylvania College, in 1870, Rev. H. W. Roth succeeded him, and the institution became a college. On the death of Mr. Thiel a handsome bequest was left, enabling the college to increase its facilities, on its removal to Green-

ville, Mercer County, and to become an important feeder for the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia.

Augustana College and Theological Seminary were removed from Paxton, Ill., to Rock Island, Ill., in 1876, and the seminary of the Iowa Synod with its college to Mendota, Ill., in 1874. These movements indicated that the plan, approved by the General Council in 1869, of a general theological seminary in Chicago, in which should be concentrated the theological faculties of the synods within or affiliated with the General Council in the Mississippi Valley—German, Swedish, Norwegian, and English—could not, for the present, be carried out. In 1872 the General Council had elected a professor, and authorized the establishment of the seminary before the next convention.

A great advance in literary development accompanied the events connected with the organization of the council. The greatest work produced was "The Conservative Reformation and its Theology," by Charles Porterfield Krauth, published in 1871, distinguished for its exhaustive research, profound learning, and entertaining and brilliant style. It consisted of the choicest products of Dr. Krauth's pen for over twenty years, concerning the doctrines and history of the Lutheran Church, much of it having previously appeared in "The Evangelical Review" and "The Lutheran and Missionary." The Lutheran Church at last had in the English language an adequate and triumphant defense, not only to answer the doubts of her own people, but to silence the attacks of adversaries. It labored under the disadvantage of being a series of isolated essays, rather than a complete and connected treatment of its theme; but even as such, it remains one of the few original theological treatises of the first rank that our country has produced. The criticism of the late Dr. J. W. Nevin, of the

Reformed Church, is probably of more value than that of one whose relations to Dr. Krauth were such as to justly suggest a bias disqualifying from impartial judgment. He said:

> Dr. Krauth is known as one of the first writers of our country. The gentleman, the Christian, and the scholar are happily blended in his person. He is one of the pillars of his own church on this side of the Atlantic, and one of the ornaments of our American Christianity in general.

Speaking of "the mighty challenge it presents to our whole American Christianity, outside of the Lutheran Church," he continued:

> It is not the cry of blustering ignorance nor of fanatical rant. The book is of the heavy artillery order, large in size (840 pp., 8vo.), ponderous in bearing, vigorous in style, and energetic in thought. No one who has seen Dr. Krauth in his own magnificent library (one of the finest in the whole country), or who has known anything of his laborious studies in past years, can undervalue or doubt his qualification for the task he has here undertaken. It may be doubted if any other man in our country could have handled this particular subject with the same ability or the same amount of historical learning. . . . The work marks the advance of a highly interesting and significant restorational movement in the historical life of the American Lutheran Church itself. We all know that half a century ago Lutheranism in this country had fallen almost entirely from the distinctive peculiarities of what Lutheranism was confessionally in the sixteenth century. In becoming English especially, it was supposed to have gone through a sort of evangelical regeneration, which consisted largely in forgetting its own shibboleths altogether, and taking up those of Puritanism and Methodism. It affected to be in this way "*American* Lutheranism," something quite ahead of all medieval fooleries, and fit to figure in the nineteenth century. . . . In these circumstances, it is a matter for real congratulation that the Lutheran Church is in a fair way to become far more of a power in our country than it has heretofore been; and there is room to look also for the resurrection of a live Lutheran theology among us in the spirit of the Augsburg Confession, which may yet force its claims on the attention of our one-sided (and, therefore, more or less lopsided) reformed Protestantism, so as to exert upon it in the end a sanitary modification in which both confessions may have reason to rejoice.

In 1872 the brochure of Dr. Krauth on "Infant Salvation in the Calvinistic System" was called forth by a challenge of Dr. Charles Hodge in his "Systematic Theology,"

vol. iii., p. 605. The acknowledgment of Dr. Hodge that he was in the wrong was as prompt and generous as the argument of Dr. Krauth was overwhelming and exhaustive in its citation of authorities. Dr. Hodge's graceful tribute to Dr. Krauth's attainments in Calvinistic theology was only approached by the glowing commendation of Dr. Hodge, as a man and theologian, by his reviewer. When Dr. Charles Hodge celebrated the jubilee of his professorship at Princeton, Dr. Krauth was present as the representative of the Philadelphia faculty. Dr. A. A. Hodge, in his biography of his father, states that of all the remarks of congratulation, none were more grateful than those of Dr. Krauth, a summary of which is there given. If controversies could only be always conducted in such spirit, the more we would have of them the better would it be.

A noteworthy publication, somewhat earlier than "The Conservative Reformation," was the "Ecclesia Lutherana" of Dr. J. A. Seiss, full of condensed information concerning its subject, written in the vigorous style of which the author is a master, and well adapted for general circulation. A beginning was also made of a complete set of sermons upon the gospels and epistles for the church year, the completion of which in the fifth volume for the minor festivals, in 1893, was the crowning work of the literary activity of the most industrious author whom the Lutheran Church in America has produced. Next to Dr. Schaff, he probably ranks as the most voluminous theological writer of the country. His lectures on the Apocalypse, "Voices from Babylon," "Miracle in Stone," etc., appeared during the years whose history we have been narrating. The "Theologische Monatshefte" of Rev. S. K. Brobst was a scientific theological journal within the council, which numbered among its contributors Drs. Mann, Spaeth, S. Fritschel, G. Fritschel, etc.

The General Synod also advanced to a more thorough organization by the struggles which had occasioned its disruptions. The centralizing process to which we have referred advanced with great rapidity. The former societies of home missions, foreign missions, church extension, and publication became boards of the General Synod. The controversy with the General Council, vigorously conducted through the church papers and "Quarterly Review," which in 1872 succeeded the "Evangelical Review" at Gettysburg, constantly made the assertion of conservative principles stronger. Down to the very year of his death, in 1873, Dr. S. S. Schmucker exerted all his power to check the movement. The amendment to the constitution proposed at York, and finally adopted at Harrisburg, while variously interpreted by those who subscribed it, proved to be a powerful educational leaven. From the institutions of the General Synod at Gettysburg there was issued, in 1875, a translation of Schmid's "Dogmatik," with the approval and commendation of the most representative Lutheran theologians of this country, including Walther, Loy, and S. Fritschel. A trustworthy handbook was thus furnished pastors and students in the English language, enabling them to determine for themselves what are the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, and what the arguments by which they are defended.

The foundation, by Rev. S. A. Holman, D.D., of a course of annual lectures on the Augsburg Confession, at the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, led to the more thorough study, explanation, and defense of the confession by the prominent professors and pastors who were appointed lecturers. The first series, upon the twenty-one doctrinal articles, was begun in 1866 and published in 1888.

Various efforts were made to enter into some form of

friendly relation with the General Council and other Lutheran bodies of a stricter confessional position, which, however, were firmly and even bitterly resisted, and generally with success, by the advocates of the so-called "American Lutheranism." The latter insisted on the exchange of delegates, as with other denominations, as the sole form of communication. This could not be entertained by the other bodies without some more definite understanding of the sense in which the General Synod was ready to pledge itself to the confessions. The official declaration proposed at York was not unsatisfactory, but the prevalent interpretation of the declaration, as allowing those who openly attacked the distinctive doctrines of the Lutheran Church equal rights with "the strictest symbolist," rendered the formal acceptance of the pledge at Harrisburg unsatisfactory to the other bodies as a confessional test. At the same time they gratefully recognized the growth of a Lutheran consciousness within the General Synod, and would have been glad of the opportunity of participating in a colloquium, in which there could be a free discussion of the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession. The bringing together of representative men of all the different bodies in such informal way, it was felt, would do much toward an ultimate universal determination and conviction as to what is the Lutheran faith, and how those united in it could coöperate. When, therefore, in 1873, the General Synod, on motion of Rev. Dr. Morris, proposed an interchange of delegates, the General Council proposed instead a colloquium. The proposition of the General Council was accepted by the General Synod, South, and the Synodical Conference; but being declined by the General Synod in 1875, nothing further was done.

Meanwhile the thought of the colloquium was carried out in the two "Lutheran Diets," which were originated

and organized by the private efforts of Dr. Morris, of the General Synod, and Dr. Seiss, of the General Council. They were both held in Philadelphia, the first in December, 1877, and the second in November, 1878. Thoroughly prepared papers were read and discussed, and the proceedings of each diet were afterward published in a volume containing much information concerning living questions in the Lutheran Church. Important results, affecting the future development, can be traced to these conventions. They ceased to be held, probably from the disappointment that was felt that an immediate solution of the ecclesiastical problem was not reached, which, under the circumstances, was a manifest impossibility.

The foreign mission work of the General Synod was in a languishing condition at the close of the Civil War. The loss of one half of its communicant membership by the disruption most seriously crippled it. The cessation of the coöperation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania was a heavy blow. When, therefore, the missionaries Groening and Heise retired from the Rajahmundry district, the committee sought relief by the proposed transfer to the Church Missionary Society, which was interrupted by the return of Dr. Heyer. In 1871 the visit of Dr. Unangst, of Guntur, to the United States, and the return with him of Rev. J. H. Harpster, increased the interest. The latter labored with much success in the Palnaud, where Heyer had been the pioneer, and in which the heart of the veteran seemed to linger until the very last. Rev. L. L. Uhl followed shortly afterward, being placed in charge of the high-school at Guntur, which has since grown into a flourishing college. In 1874 Rev. A. D. Rowe reached Guntur, as "the children's missionary," having been sent thither by the Sunday-schools of the General Synod, in the visitation of which he had spent much time before his

departure. His eminent ability, supplemented by his experience as a youthful superintendent of schools of Clinton County, Pa., his cultivated manners, and thorough consecration to his work, gave the greatest promise of usefulness. His books, "Every-day Life in India," "Missionary Life in India," show decided literary ability. The tidings of his death, September 16, 1882, at the age of thirty-three, came with crushing weight upon all interested in missionary work who had learned to know him.

The Muhlenberg Mission in Africa, founded by Rev. M. Officer in 1860, has proved destructive either to the health or lives of nearly all who have entered its service. There is no escape from the dreaded African fever. The missionary who returns to America for rest must pass through the process of acclimatization once more, as he approaches or reaches the coast, where the almost vertical rays of the sun deluge him with a heat charged with moisture from the earth, and with germs of fever from the rank and decaying vegetation of the dense jungle. The ordinary relief at night from the oppressive heat rarely comes in that climate. Through this crisis the wives of the missionaries are far less liable to pass with safety than their husbands. The record is a most discouraging and distressing one. Within a period of twenty-three years (1860–83) sixteen missionaries entered the field, of whom four died (Rev. S. P. Carnell, Mrs. Kistler, Breuninger, and Collins), and ten returned with impaired health. The field might have been abandoned, but for the Rev. D. A. Day and wife, who reached the mission in June, 1874, and have been able, with much efficiency, to endure the climate and extend the work and influence of the mission, up to the present time. Dr. Day has the reputation of being the most successful missionary on the western coast of Africa. The educational work is depended upon as the

chief means of bringing the knowledge of the gospel to the degraded natives. The Christian schools established under his superintendence have educated hundreds of African children. From the coast the influence extends for hundreds of miles into the interior, where the native tribes of different languages have learned to communicate with one another by means of the so-called "pigeon English." The greatest obstacle to missionary success has been the horrible rum traffic, whereby from Christian nations the heathen derive the means for their still deeper degradation.

The largest of all the general bodies of the Lutheran Church in America was formed in 1872, with the powerful Synod of Missouri as its center and head. Its formation was a direct result of the centralizing process started by the movements leading to the formation of the General Council. The desire for synodical union was universally felt. A large, homogeneous body has a wonderful power in attracting to itself feebler organizations. Missouri was constantly growing by adding to itself new congregations, many of which were not recent in origin, but had been either independent or had belonged to other synods. Its ministerial ranks grew, not simply from the graduates of its seminaries, but the synod became a rallying-point for German-speaking pastors from all quarters, receiving its contributions even from the General Synod, but still more from the General Council.

The hidden force which drew some of the German synods from the General Council was the loadstone at St. Louis. Missouri was thought to be a stronger power than the council, and as union with the council and with Missouri, or union with Missouri in the council, was impossible, they were driven to the alternative of union with Missouri outside of the council. The Synodical Conference

is without many features of what is generally regarded almost essential to a general body. The synods included in it are so completely isolated in carrying on their various forms of church work, that the conference is more a bond of mutual recognition than anything else. There are no territorial bounds between the synods included within it, there being not a few places where there are congregations of two of the synods, and sometimes even three of the synods being represented. There has been no common church work for their united efforts, unless it be that of a not very extensive mission among the negroes. The sessions have been occupied chiefly with the discussion of doctrinal questions. The admission of a synod into the conference requires the assent of all the synods already represented. It can decide nothing except by reference to the constituent synods and their final vote.

The synods uniting to form the Synodical Conference were the Missouri, Ohio, Wisconsin, Norwegian, Minnesota, and Illinois. The last two had been in the General Synod, and then in the General Council. Illinois was soon absorbed by Missouri, and ceased to exist as a separate synod. The small Concordia Synod of Virginia and English Conference of Missouri afterward united with the Synodical Conference.

Within the synods of the Synodical Conference the greatest activity continued. The Missouri Synod enlarged the number of its district synods, covering the whole country, from Canada to Texas and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with a most compact and thorough organization, leaving all things to the free determinations of congregations, and yet in such a way that they always seemed to outsiders to act and speak as one man. The parochial school system, with the Teachers' Seminary at Addison, Ill., was a most prominent feature of its work. The theo-

retical and practical courses of the theological seminary were divided, the former remaining at St. Louis, while the latter was removed to Springfield, Ill. The Norwegian and Wisconsin synods, for a time, had representatives in the faculty at St. Louis, it having been a favorite plan in the Synodical Conference to transfer thither all their theological instruction of the higher grade. The Publication House at St. Louis grew to large proportions, and brought in a large revenue for synodical operations. The minutes of the various districts were theological treatises, containing as they did the theses discussed at every meeting, with an exhaustive report of the discussion, which, of course, was not extemporaneous, but consisted of ponderous theological lectures. With untiring zeal the "Lehre und Wehre" continued the polemic against the Iowa Synod and General Council. Everything is still controlled by the magnetic personality of Dr. Walther, unwavering in his denial of the existence of any open questions in theology.

The development in Ohio proceeded under the leadership of Professors Lehman and Loy, the two chief professors at Columbus. There were occasional conflicts between this synod and its former district, which had entered the General Council, in which the council itself became incidentally involved, mainly on the subject of secret societies. Ohio's growth, however, had proceeded so long upon the historical lines derived from her connection with the church in the East, that she was soon restive under the aggressive methods of Missouri in the Synodical Conference.

The institutions of the Wisconsin Synod at Watertown flourished under the presidency of Professor Ernst, Rev. A. Hoenecke being the professor of theology, and the "Gemeindeblatt" the synodical organ.

Luther College of the Norwegian Synod at Decorah, Ia., acquired a large building, and was manned by an able fac-

ulty. A revision of an English translation of the Augsburg Confession, made by Professor J. C. Jacobsen, of this college, was the best translation in the language, until the recent one made in 1891 by representatives of all Lutheran bodies in America using regularly the English. This synod, besides its Western work, has been active in the establishment of seamen's missions along the Atlantic coast, so many Norwegians being sailors, and while in port needing especial care.

Passing to the independent synods, an important one among them was the " Conference " of the Norwegians and Danes, an offshoot of the Augustana Synod, which separated according to nationality in 1870, after which the Norwegians again divided into two bodies. The Conference, first under Professor Weenass and afterward under Professor Sverdrup, established its headquarters in Minneapolis, where it built its theological seminary. The Norwegian Augustana Synod was a much smaller body, which held the same relation as the Iowa Synod to the General Council. Among its pastors the best known were Paul Andersen and O. J. Hattelstadt. Their seminary was ultimately fixed at Beloit, Ia.

A Danish Synod (Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America) was founded in 1872, as the result of a missionary movement in Denmark. It has congregations both East and West, and a theological seminary in West Denmark, Wis. Its relations with the General Council are very intimate, as it aids in the support of the Rajahmundry mission, sends students to the Philadelphia Seminary, and its Philadelphia mission is supported by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE ERA OF REAPPROACH AND EFFORTS FOR UNION AMONG THE SEPARATED BODIES (1877–93).

THE era from 1877 to the present is marked by a number of violent controversies within the larger general bodies, felt throughout the entire church, beneath which, however, there has been a steady progress in drawing together around a common center. The controversies only indicate that as every affirmative implies a negative, so every union implies disunion. There must be controversy, and often a rupture, before a readjustment of former relations is possible.

Three controversies are of especial importance:

1. *The Predestination Controversy* within the Synodical Conference. This was the direct result of Missouri's denial of the existence of "open questions" within the Lutheran Church, and its attempt to enforce as confessional the position which Luther originally held, but which in the latter part of his life, without renouncing, he preferred not to press. The Formula of Concord itself, in adopting a compromise on the subject between the positions advanced by the North Germans under Chemnitz and the Suabians under Andreæ, guaranteed a certain amount of liberty in regard to what might be held as opinions, but not advanced as doctrines of the Lutheran Church.

The issue could be foreseen long before the controversy began. In 1880 Dr. F. A. Schmidt, of the Norwegian Synod, a colleague of Dr. Walther in the seminary at St.

Louis, criticised the statement presented in various theses to the district synods for discussion and printed in their minutes, that God's election is the cause of man's salvation, and that even man's faith is the result of election. A theological journal, "Altes und Neues," was started by Dr. Schmidt for the sole purpose of antagonizing the Missouri doctrine. With Dr. Schmidt sided the professors of the Ohio Synod, and their publications gave their testimony against Dr. Walther. From outside the Synodical Conference, the theologians of the Iowa Synod also came to the support of Dr. Schmidt. An attempt was made to reach an understanding by a colloquium at Milwaukee, in January, 1881, where, after five days' discussion, the professors of the Ohio Synod withdrew. At the next meeting of the Ohio Synod it dissolved its connection with the Synodical Conference. The Norwegian Synod followed, hoping to preserve its unity by getting beyond the range of the controversy in the Synodical Conference in respect to which its pastors were divided. The effort was useless, for the Norwegian Synod was itself separated by the conflict, the "anti-Missourians" founding a seminary at Northfield, Minn., with Dr. Schmidt as the chief professor. There was an interchange of ministers, as they passed, according to their convictions, from one camp to the other, the most significant having been the gain which Ohio made by the accession of Professor F. W. Stellhorn, of the Missouri College at Fort Wayne, to the theological faculty of the Ohio Synod at Columbus.

The literature produced during the years in which the controversy raged was of such extent that it would have occupied a very large portion of a student's time to have kept pace with the disputants. It is to be regretted that it led to no thorough treatise of permanent value, and was confined only to the papers, the theological journals, and

separate pamphlets. A great amount of learning was displayed, on both sides, in the frequent long attacks and counter-attacks, which were published. If the disputants could have condensed and concentrated their arguments into two solid and exhaustive treatises, and have rested their cause upon these presentations, far more would have been gained.

The charge, on the one side, was that the Missourians were Calvinists; and, on the other, that their opponents were synergists. But Missouri differed from Calvinists in teaching the universality of the atonement, the universality and seriousness of the call, and the constant presence of the Holy Spirit with the Word. Missouri always protested that it never taught that any one is lost because God willed that he be not saved. The distinction between the three doctrines may be thus illustrated:

Ohio and Iowa: In view of faith in the merits of Christ, men are elected unto salvation.

Missouri: In view of the merits of Christ, men are elected to faith for salvation.

Calvinists: Men are elected to the merits of Christ and to faith for salvation.

The expression "*intuitu fidei*" thus became the main point of dispute. The opponents of Missouri triumphantly cited the numerous defenses of this expression from the old Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century; and in reply were complimented for their acquaintance with the defects of these masters.

The last literary effort of Dr. Krauth's life was to begin an article reviewing the controversy, which was found among his papers after his death.

If the disputants in the Synodical Conference agree upon a statement, made in simple good faith, as to what are the points on which they are one, and what are the points on which they differ, we may hope for final peace. Till

they do this, the more they discuss the doctrine of election the more they will muddle the mind of the church, and the further they will be from a decision. The question, Is our faith a cause of God's election, or an effect of it? must be carefully defined before men can take sides upon it. Considered as a relation between man and God, the answer would be made in one way. Considered as a question covering the case between one man and another, the answer would be reversed. What is the cause of my faith? The generic action of God's election or choice. He chose to provide redemption for lost man; he chose that a divine-human Saviour should consummate it; he chose that the Spirit should apply it; he chose the Word and sacraments as organic instruments of it: and these links of choices form the generic chain of election. This election is the cause of faith.

Now comes the other question, no longer as between man and God, but between man and man. Election as generic contemplates all men alike—its redemption is universal, its Saviour the Saviour of all, its Spirit the gift purchased for all, its means are objective forces, which put all men to whom they come on a common plane of responsibility and above the simple condition of natural helplessness. Why do men in completely parallel relations to *this* election move in opposite directions? The one believes, the other disbelieves. Is the election of God, in any sense, the cause of the difference? The answer of the Calvinist is, Yes. The answer of the Lutheran is, No. The election of God is indeed the cause of the faith of the one, but it is neither positively nor negatively, neither by act nor by failure to act, the cause of the unbelief of the other.[1]

Such was the decision upon the merits of the controversy by one best qualified to be an impartial judge.

2. *The Liturgical and Confessional Controversy* within the General Synod. The desire expressed by Muhlenberg near the close of his life that "all the Evangelical Lutheran congregations in the North American States" should be "united with one another," especially in the use of "the same order of service,"[2] has advanced rapidly toward its fulfillment. To the churches in the South belongs the credit for the initiation of the movement which has included virtually all English-speaking and a very large portion of the German-speaking Lutherans. Of Dr. Bachman, of Charleston, S. C., it is said: "In his old age, per-

1 "Lutheran Church Review," vol. iii., pp. 68 sqq.

2 Mann's "Life of Muhlenberg," p. 501.

haps the strongest desire of his heart was that all English-speaking Lutherans should have a common service. We find him suggesting and urging the same, and when prevented by age and feebleness from attending the General Synod that met at Winchester, Va., in 1870, expressing to his brethren by letter the burden of his heart's desire." [1]

The resolution of the General Synod, South, at Staunton, Va.,[2] in 1876, proposing negotiations with the General Synod and General Council for the preparation of one common book for all English-speaking Lutheran churches in the United States, was simply the carrying out of this favorite thought of their predecessors in the ministry. To those intimately acquainted with the two Northern bodies, the project of uniting their English-speaking churches in the use of one order of service seemed Utopian. It is probable that a large portion of those in both bodies who voted for the resolution pledging them to coöperation, did so with little expectation of any result. The General Council, in 1879, resolved to coöperate, "provided the rule which shall decide all questions in its preparation shall be: The common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century, and, when there is not an entire agreement among them, the consent of the largest number of those of greatest weight." The preparation and revision of a liturgy with which it had been preoccupied for years prevented the General Synod from taking any decisive action until 1883, when it resolved

That we hail, as one of the most auspicious outlooks of our church in America, the prospect of securing a "common service for all English-speaking Lutherans." And that, believing such a service to be feasible upon the generic and well-defined basis of the "common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century," we hereby declare our readiness to labor to this end.

[1] Life, p. 350.

[2] Upon motion of Rev. Dr. J. B. Remensnyder.

According to these instructions, the work was faithfully performed. Each general body had its own liturgical committee. A sub-committee of one from each body did the main work, which was then referred for approval to the separate committees. When these committees differed, a joint meeting of all three committees was called, where the understanding was that, in case of a division, the committees voted as committees, each body being entitled to one vote.[1]

At the first meeting of the Joint Committee in Philadelphia, May 12–14, 1885, the following preliminary principles were agreed upon:

1. It is the understanding of the whole joint committee that the result of our labors must be referred to the bodies we represent.

2. We dare make no service binding on the congregation, and no part of a service should be used any longer than it serves to edification.

3. We agree to furnish the full Lutheran service, with all its provisions, for all who wish to use it.

4. If at any time or place the use of the full service is not desired, it is in entire conformity with good Lutheran usage that a simple service may be provided and used, in which only the principal parts of the service in their order are contained.

Laying aside all personal prejudices, and ignoring all books and orders of service in use in any of their congregations, the committee rigidly followed the rule set before them. At the same time, in regard to certain features of the service not provided for by the consent of the liturgies mentioned, but to which almost universal usage in the churches of this country had given sanction, the com-

[1] The Southern General Synod was represented by Drs. E. T. Horn, S. A. Repass, T. W. Dosh, D. M. Gilbert, W. B. Yonce, and Mr. C. A. Rose; the General Synod, by Drs. G. U. Wenner, F. W. Conrad, A. C. Wedekind, M. Valentine, and E. J. Wolf; and the General Council, by Drs. C. W. Schaeffer, B. M. Schmucker, J. A. Seiss, A. Spaeth, S. Laird, J. Kohler, C. F. Welden, H. E. Jacobs, and Revs. F. Walz, F. F. Buermyer, and J. F. Ohl. The sub-committee consisted of Drs. B. M. Schmucker, G. U. Wenner, and E. T. Horn.

mittee, while so stating, made recommendations to their general bodies. Of such additions an example is found in the confession of sin and declaration of grace before the Introit. All the general bodies already used this or a similar confession; it was found in some liturgies of the sixteenth century; and its adoption was in their spirit, as there was a widespread custom to have a purely confessional service on Saturday evening. In the discussions, there was the greatest unanimity on all subjects except the unimportant one of the place of the Lord's Prayer in the communion service.

At Harrisburg, in 1885, the General Synod with great enthusiasm ratified the work of the committee. Its action was followed by the General Council and the General Synod, South. When the "Common Service" appeared, in 1888, almost simultaneously in two editions (one published at Philadelphia by the General Synod, and the other at Columbia, S. C., by the United Synod, South), its almost precise agreement with the "Church Book," used in the General Council since 1868, was made the occasion of severe criticism of the committee by some members of the General Synod. The agreement was explicable, from the fact that the General Council had constructed its "Church Book" upon the very same principles which it had proposed to the other bodies, and they had accepted, for the preparation of the "Common Service." The struggle, however, was not soon over. The opponents of the "Common Service" were industrious and persistent, and its friends were compelled to defend it in all its parts. The controversy led to much greater liturgical knowledge than had hitherto been prevalent, and to a deeper appreciation of liturgical principles. The contest was almost entirely confined to the General Synod. The efforts made in the meetings of the General Synod at Allegheny in 1889,

Lebanon, Pa., in 1891, and Canton, O., in 1893, to overthrow or modify the action previously taken in its favor, failed.

The Joint Synod of Ohio and English Synod of Missouri have since adopted the "Common Service," substituting only the prevalent distribution formula of the seventeenth for that of the sixteenth century. Never has any single Lutheran order of service had such wide acceptance. The new edition of the "Church Book," published by the General Council in 1891, contains the "Common Service," and has carried out the same principles in the preparation of a full set of orders for ministerial acts. The work of the Joint Committee has been extended to the preparation of a new translation of the Augsburg Confession and the Small Catechism. At the last meeting in 1892, representatives from General Synod, General Council, United Synod of the South, Synodical Conference, and Joint Synod of Ohio were present.

Within the General Synod the preparation of an official explanation of the catechism has been in progress for some years, and has excited considerable controversy, on the floor of the General Synod and in the church papers, between the advocates of a stricter and of a more liberal confessional position.

The liturgical controversy has in reality been only an episode of the controversy concerning the confessions, the greatest dread of the opponents of the "Common Service" being the concession which its general adoption might make, as to the correctness of the position hitherto occupied by the General Council. This hostility culminated in 1893, in the trial of Professor L. A. Gotwald, D.D., of Wittenberg Theological Seminary, Springfield, O., upon charges, among others, of holding "to the type of Lutheranism characteristic of the General Council," "that all the

doctrines of the Augsburg Confession are fundamental," and "that the doctrinal position of the General Synod, when rightly interpreted, is identical with that of the General Council." To the honor of the General Synod and of Wittenberg Seminary, there was not a single vote to condemn him on these charges.

The prohibition, in 1892, of the teaching of distinctive Lutheran doctrines in the religious instruction in Pennsylvania College, and the official declaration that it was not a denominational college, communicated to the professors of that institution, several of whom are prominent Lutheran ministers, met with the most numerous and decided protests, and called forth from a number of the synods the demand for synodical representation in the board of a college that lived by the patronage and contributions of their congregations. It was found necessary to modify the original action, in order to prevent a widespread alienation among the alumni and best friends of the college.

3. *The Linguistic Controversy* within the General Council. This had its origin in the distribution of the administration of home mission work to different committees, according to language. The German Home Mission Committee, composed of young and zealous members, was embarrassed by the very limited supply of German pastors for the new mission stations which they had in view, and, after trying other expedients, arranged with Pastor Paulson, of Kropp, in Schleswig-Holstein, to furnish them with candidates from a private theological seminary which he had established for the training of missionaries. Understanding the General Council to be responsible for the arrangement, he greatly enlarged his seminary, expecting the material and moral support of the council, and that the rapidly growing number of students would, as they graduated, be supplied with places in America. In-

stead of confining themselves to remote mission-fields, the students sent under this arrangement soon pressed into the German congregations in the East, as they became vacant. This policy was resisted as unwise and inexpedient. In reply, it was urged that the seminary at Philadelphia did not give adequate German instruction, and that the German congregations must look elsewhere for their pastors. A monthly journal was established to further this interest, and issued from Reading, Pa., which, falling by an almost unanimous vote beneath the severe condemnation of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania for the violence of its attacks, only foreshadowed by its early death the fate of all attempts to array themselves against the language and institutions of the country, and to urge the proposition, which, in Luther's opinion, was almost heretical, that Lutheranism and Germanism are one and inseparable. The result of the controversy was a general deepening of the feeling that nativistic and linguistic prejudices must be laid aside. Never was the importance of the English work of the General Council so realized as when the very best friends and leaders of the German interests of the General Council had to suffer as martyrs simply because of the testimony which they gave to the lessons that their long experience had taught them.

On the floor of the General Council, however, a singular condition of things has prevailed. The English has been made the official language, and in it, by the persistent demands of the Swedes, all discussions are conducted. With the growing strength of the Swedes, the separate organization of English congregations and of an English synod have been attended by some indications of dissatisfaction. These manifested themselves most forcibly at the convention at Fort Wayne in 1893, but were settled to the satisfaction of all. The Swedes have begun the

work of establishing English congregations of their own, and providing for the future anglicizing of their institutions and synod.

But this era has not been mainly one of controversy and disruption. The centralizing forces have been more active than those which separate.

In the South they have led to a reorganization of the general body upon a more definite confessional basis than had previously obtained. In 1880 the General Synod, South, had indorsed the other symbolical books, as "in accord with, and an unfolding of, the teachings of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession." Six years afterward, at Roanoke, Va., "the 18,000 Lutherans who had formerly been a General Synod, and the 14,000 of the Holston and Tennessee synods, struck hands and began to work together to fulfill a common duty."[1] The General Synod relinquished its name and organization, the new body taking the name of "The United Synod of the South." The constitution of "The United Synod" plants it upon the symbolical books, "as true and faithful developments of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession, and in the perfect harmony of one and the same pure Scriptural faith."

It embraces: 1. Certain synods which formerly belonged to the General Synod, but were separated from it by the war, and which, at the close of the war, found the synods they were formerly associated with divided between the General Council and the General Synod, while they themselves had begun a development of their own; 2. Certain synods formed since that separation; and 3. Synods that had never been in the General Synod, but, even from the first, had maintained an opposition to it.[2]

The separate existence of this relatively small body in the South has been the means of bringing the General

[1] Dr. E. T. Horn in "Distinctive Doctrines and Usages of the General Bodies," p. 183.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Synod and General Council into active coöperation in at least one sphere, and in promoting a more friendly relation, without the compromise of any Lutheran principle. In 1892 it reëstablished its Theological Seminary at Newberry, S. C., with Rev. A. G. Voigt, a graduate of Philadelphia, as professor.

The disruption of the old Norwegian Synod, because of the predestinarian controversy, was followed by a number of conferences between the "anti-Missourians," the Norwegian Conference, and the Norwegian Augustana Synod, resulting, in 1890, in the formation of the "United Norwegian Church," which comprised, in 1892, 280 pastors, 974 congregations, and 96,497 communicants. The three theological seminaries at Minneapolis and Northfield, Minn., and Beloit, Ia., were combined into one at Minneapolis, under a scheme providing for a faculty of six professors. The bond of cohesion has not proved strong enough to bear the strain which necessarily came with the attempt to agree upon the standard to be required for theological education. The "Conference" in 1893 withdrew, and the balance of the United Synod has founded another seminary, together with a college, at Minneapolis.

The withdrawal of the Michigan Synod from the General Council was followed by the union of this synod with the Synodical Conference. In 1891, with the synods of Wisconsin and Minnesota, it formed the "General Synod of Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota," generally known as the Synod of the Northwest, which is intended to be a union within the general body to which all belong. The Joint Theological Seminary of these three synods, near Milwaukee, Wis., was consecrated September 17, 1893, the president of the Missouri Synod, and Professor Pieper, of the seminary at St. Louis, Mo., participating.

Colloquiums have been held (the last one during the

summer of 1893) between representatives of the Ohio and German Iowa synods, bodies that have had a common conflict with Missouri, and whose congregations are in many places side by side. There seems to be no reason why they should not come to an understanding. Both synods have in late years shown much progress both in their educational and missionary operations. The Joint Synod of Ohio has a number of congregations and a Practical Seminary in North Carolina, and has extended its advance into the Northwest until it has reached Puget's Sound. Both the college and seminary at Columbus have strengthened their faculties in the number of professors, and the ability they represent. The Iowa Synod has found more commodious quarters for its seminary at its old home at Dubuque.

There have been conferences also between representatives of the Buffalo Synod and of the Ministerium of New York. The General Synod at Canton, O., in 1893, made propositions to the other general bodies for coöperation in practical work. The General Council responded at Fort Wayne, Ind., in October, 1893, by appointing a committee to meet that of the General Synod, and of any other bodies that might accept the invitation.

Unofficially there have been a number of movements influencing Lutherans in common, and without regard to their synodical relations. In 1883 the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth revealed, in a surprising degree, the great hold which the Reformer has upon the Protestant Christianity of this country. It led to a general review of Luther's life and doctrine, and a higher appreciation of the distinctive features of Luther's work. Not only were the largest buildings of our great cities inadequate to contain the large numbers of those assembling for a common celebration, and a tribute laid upon the

highest gifts of oratory and the best musical skill, but the literature demanded and inspired by the occasion was large. Many so-called Lutherans awoke for the first time to a true sense of what was contained in their heritage. What had been heretofore a matter of timid and awkward apology, or even of censure echoed from other sources, was found to be a matter of respect and approval by the best men of other communions. Interest in Luther also led others to an interest in Lutherans. From this Luther Jubilee the Martin Luther Society of New York City originated. It was an association of laymen of standing, without regard to their synodical relations, which held an annual celebration with an oration on November 10, and a banquet, with invited guests, generally in February. It was especially active in the erection of a monument to Luther in Washington.

The benefits of the social reunions thus secured suggested their extension to a wider sphere. Young People's Lutheran Associations were formed in a number of the churches of the General Council, General Synod, and even of the Missouri Synod, which together united in the Young People's Lutheran Association (Central Association) of New York City. It publishes a sprightly monthly paper, "The Lutheran Review," and has extended itself gradually throughout the State of New York. A convention was held in Utica, N. Y., in June, 1893. The name has been changed to that of "The Lutheran League," and the purpose is to extend the system over the country. It has been stimulated greatly in some places by the pressure brought to bear upon Lutheran pastors and congregations to unite in the "Christian Endeavor" movement, for which this has been offered as a substitute.

A very eloquent popular history of the Lutheran Church in America, by Dr. E. J. Wolf, of the Theological Seminary

at Gettysburg, published in 1889, was circulated by the tens of thousands, both in English and as translated into German with additions by Dr. J. Nicum, of the General Council. Its effect was soon traceable in the wider outlook and the deeper acquaintance concerning the church diffused among the people. Previously the tendency in many quarters was to conceive of the general body to which one belonged as, properly speaking, the Lutheran Church of America, with some outside synods numerically not very strong, or, if strong, of not very great importance in learning or influence, or devotion to the cause of Christ. Especially was this the case where such bias was fostered by the perhaps single church paper that entered the home. Before this, Dr. Mann's "Life and Times of Muhlenberg" had informed the clergy and the more intelligent and interested laity concerning details in the early history of the church in this country, the apprehension of which had previously been vague and incorrect. It had demonstrated beyond dispute the confessional position of the fathers from Halle, and their thoroughgoing Lutheran practice. Ten thousand copies of Gerberding's "Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church" were soon disposed among English-speaking Lutherans without distinction of synod. An effort made by another writer to show the great indebtedness of the Church of England to Lutheran influences, and to trace the relations between the Lutheran and Episcopal orders of service, met with the kindest reception in all parts of the Lutheran Church. The appearance of a volume in 1893, in which representatives of the Joint Synod of Ohio, General Synod, German Iowa Synod, General Council, Synodical Conference, and United Synod in the South state and explain their chief characteristics, show that the discussions have passed beyond the stage where there is a willingness to hear only

one side. These writers, treating of their themes separately, and without knowledge of what others wrote, agree in declaring that the sincere acceptance of all the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession is determinative of the Lutheran character of a minister or church. The ampler confessions received by five out of six of the writers are regarded as adding nothing to the Augsburg Confession, but as necessary only to guard its real meaning against perversions and misinterpretations.

"The Lutheran Manual" of Dr. J. B. Remensnyder, which was published in the autumn of 1893, is a valuable presentation of the doctrines, worship, and government of the Lutheran Church which will doubtless be widely circulated without distinction of inter-ecclesiastical lines. Lenker's "Lutherans in all Lands" and its predecessor, Roth's "Handbook of Lutheranism," are interesting exhibits of statistics.

The celebration of the tercentenary publication of the Decree of Upsala of 1593, by which the Church of Sweden was placed upon a secure Lutheran basis, brought to this country, in May, 1893, as the representative of the King of Sweden, Rt. Rev. K. H. G. von Scheele, D.D., Bishop of Visby, one of the most prominent living theologians of the Lutheran Church. His stay of three months was distinguished by ovations in all parts of the country, from New York to San Francisco, Lutherans of widely diverging synods uniting in celebrations of welcome and congratulation. Of the several memorable popular outpourings among the Swedes, the most important was at Rock Island, Ill., where the representatives of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, German Synod of Iowa, and Norwegian Synod stood side by side with the Swedish bishop before the thousands of Swedish Lutherans who surrounded them. The interest reached its climax as Bishop von

Scheele and Dr. Fritschel vied with each other in their tributes to what the Germans and the Swedes had done in the particular field which each cultivated. German Lutherans could not but be impressed with the contrast between the one thoroughly united church of Sweden and the divided churches of Germany, and between the single strong Swedish body, the Augustana Synod, comprising the Swedish Church in America, and the many divisions of the German and German-American synods.

Among those representing the descendants of the Lutherans of Muhlenberg's time, the chief progress in educational work during this era has been in the establishment of a theological seminary in Chicago, and the removal of the seminary in Philadelphia to one of the most desirable suburbs, Mount Airy, where it has ampler accommodations for students and libraries. The General Synod has added Midland College, Atchison, Kan., to Carthage, Ill., in the West. Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minn., with nearly three hundred students and fifteen professors, while founded in 1862, has made its chief advance in recent years. Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan., founded by the Swedish Augustana Synod in 1881, by a vigorous effort lifted a debt of $75,000 from its shoulders, which had threatened its existence, and enrolled in 1893 twenty-five professors and instructors, and four hundred and twenty students.

The attractions of a city led to the agitation of the removal of the seminary of the General Synod from Gettysburg, Pa., to Baltimore or Washington. But with the question decided adversely, preparations are in progress for more ample accommodations for its increasing students.

The foreign mission work of both General Synod and General Council has been constantly enlarging. In the

India mission of the former, with Guntur as the center, the establishment of the Watts Memorial College, with Rev. L. B. Wolf as principal, has been of special importance. It numbered, last year, thirty-four teachers and five hundred and twenty-five students. The zenana work has been in charge of six lady missionaries (Misses Dryden, Kugler, Sadtler, and Kistler, Mrs. Wolf and Mrs. Aberly). The number of communicants reported is 6178, and baptized members, old and young, 14,311. The six ordained American pastors in the field (Unangst, Uhl, Wolf, Yeiser, Albrecht, and Aberly) have recently been joined by Rev. Dr. Harpster, the former missionary in the Palnaud, who has returned to the field after an absence of seventeen years. The African mission has two ordained missionaries (Day, Goll), two native pastors, and one hundred and eighty communicants.

The foreign mission work of the General Council in India has lost by death several most valuable missionaries (Carlson, Artman, Dietrich, Groening, Jr.). But the church has responded to the call for others to fill their places. The veteran Dr. Schmidt, inducted into his office by Dr. Heyer, still remains. As Groening died, Rev. E. Pohl, of the Breklum Society, arrived at Rajahmundry on a visit. After temporarily taking charge of the schools, by permission of his own society, he has become, in 1893, after eleven years' experience, permanently identified with the mission of the General Council. Besides Mr. Pohl, Revs. Bähnisch, Arps, and Isaacson were added in 1893 to the force (Schmidt, McCready, Edman, Kuder). The zenana work has also been commenced, under Misses Sadtler and Schade. The statistics of the General Council Missions for 1893 exhibit a communicant membership of 1441, and the total number of Christians as 3757. The gospel is

preached in 146 villages, and Christian schools conducted in 95 villages. A call is made for the establishment of schools in 75 more villages.

The General Synod, South, sent out Rev. W. P. Swartz as their missionary to India in 1885, to coöperate with the mission at Guntur; but as he withdrew after a very brief service, they determined to find a missionary field independent of the two other bodies. The United Synod has accordingly established a mission in Japan.

Rev. J. A. B. Scherer, the first missionary, sailed February, 1892. He spent about a year in Tokyo, in study of the language. Having been joined early in 1893 by Rev. R. B. Peery, in February of that year he removed to Saga, in the island of Kyushyu. There they have definitely begun their work, in which they are served by a native Christian helper, Yamanonchi San. So far, they have baptized but two converts. They maintain regular services. Mr. Scherer teaches in a Japanese school, whose teachers and pupils frequent his Bible-classes, and Mr. Peery and Yamanonchi conduct a night-school. With the aid of competent scholars they have secured a translation of Luther's Small Catechism into Japanese, and this has been published in Japan.

A new impulse has been given to the deaconess work within the past ten years. The institute established at Pittsburg in 1849 by Rev. Dr. Passavant accomplished a great work in proportion to the number of deaconesses it was able to secure. But the attention of the church was so occupied with other subjects, that, with the prejudices the institution encountered, no strong hold was gained upon the interest of the people. They admired and commended the institutions of mercy that arose from this impulse, but there was no readiness to devote their daughters to the life of self-denial that was demanded.

The German Hospital in Philadelphia, which had been administered in the interests of an irreligious humanitarianism, early in the eighties came, through the efforts of its president, John D. Lankenau, under very decided church influence. The result was that it passed from a period of general indifference into one of unexampled prosperity, with three of the most prominent German Lutheran clergymen of the city upon its board. A larger number of nurses being needed, as well as of a better class, it was decided to apply to Germany for Lutheran deaconesses. Seven arrived, June 19, 1884. But it was soon found, that if the institution was to be a permanent one in America, a training-school was needed and a "Home," to which the deaconesses could retire when disabled by disease or old age. The almost unparalleled munificence of Mr. Lankenau promptly met this need. At a cost of half a million of dollars, he erected directly opposite Girard College by far the most magnificent of deaconesses' institutes in existence. It is most complete in all its appointments. The annual expenses of the vast establishment are with equal liberality borne by the founder. The rector of the Home must always be a Lutheran clergyman.

There has been disappointment that, with these advantages, the number of sisters has not been more largely increased. The last reports give their present force as forty-one; of these twenty-five are engaged in the German Hospital. A similar institution has been begun in Omaha by the Swedes, the first sisters having been trained in Philadelphia. A new development of the oldest branch in America under Dr. Passavant is about starting at Milwaukee, Wis. The General Synod has, for several years, been agitating the matter, and has several sisters in training. The work has also been begun in the Ohio Synod.

Several small synods have originated during this period, from the increase of immigration of certain nationalities. A strong current of Icelanders is flowing toward the Northwest, where in North Dakota and Manitoba over seven thousand members are now organized into a synod. At Winnipeg, they have one congregation with over a thousand members. One fourth the population of Iceland, if not more, has within the last twenty years entered this region. Their candidates for the ministry are being trained in the institutions of the General Council. The only Icelandic church paper in existence is the one published by this synod. The Suomai Synod is composed of a small body of Finns. The Danish Lutheran Association is an offshoot from the Norwegian-Danish Conference, whose center is at Minneapolis. At the meeting of the General Council in 1893, a delegation appeared from the German Augsburg Synod to ascertain the conditions of union.

The statement which has been already made in some quarters that there are in America seventeen kinds of Lutherans, as distinctly separated as different denominations, is explained only when unity of organization is made the standard of denominational unity. Such principle, if strictly applied, would make of the Lutherans of Sweden a different denomination from the Swedish Lutherans of America, and the Presbyterians of New York a different denomination from those of Canada. With the Lutheran Church, the organization is a matter of convenience and expediency, and it is entirely possible for those who are one in faith, because of local or linguistic reasons to maintain separate organizations. When in a body predominantly Norwegian enough Danes accumulate to form a synod of their own, this does not change the character of their Lutheranism, or make of them a separate denomina-

tion. The real lines of division among Christians are those of faith, not those of organization.

Whatever may be the divisions of the Lutheran Church exhibited by the statistical tables, they may be classified according to the types described in the preceding pages of Zinzendorf, Berkenmeyer, and Muhlenberg. The general bodies comprise exclusively descendants of Germans, except that the Swedes are found in the General Council. The independent synods do not attempt to justify their permanent isolation, but are distracted in their choice of one or other of the bodies. The general bodies themselves have a nearer relation toward each other than formerly, and in the common service have proved their ability to coöperate upon a clearly defined confessional basis. They act and react upon each other through currents of influence that flow beneath the barriers that separate them.

The great need of the hour is for the establishment of strong institutions thoroughly equipped for the cultivation of theological science, so as to communicate to the religious world of America the rich treasures of Lutheran theology, and in the English language and the molds of thought of the nineteenth century to proclaim clearly and fearlessly the very same precious truths of the gospel, which gave her a name and made her a power in the days of the Reformation. As she is faithful to these truths she will become more and more thoroughly united, and will continue with ever-increasing efficiency to develop those fields in her practical life, where, notwithstanding the obstacles she has encountered, her efforts in this country, although made in all humility, and characterized by the frailty that attaches to everything earthly, have not been without marked evidences of the divine blessing.

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